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Aufsätze, Vorträge und Reden

VON

DR. A. JACOBI

FÜR SEINE TOCHTER ZU IHREM SECHSZEHNTEM GEBURTSTAGE
AUSGEWÄHLT

ERSTER BAND

NEW YORK
PRESS OF STETTINER, LAMBERT & CO.
22-26 READE STREET
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MEINER LIEBEN

GRETE

AN

IHREM SECHSZEHNTEM GEBURTSTAGE.

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Meine liebe Grete :

Vor einigen Jahren—es wird nach Weihnachten, oder nach einem deiner Geburtstage gewesen sein—fragtest du mich einmal: “Papa, alle Leute schenken mir, warum du nicht?” Ich glaube dass ich antwortete: “Gerade darum, weil alle Leute dir so viel schenken, dass für mich Nichts zu geben übrig bleibt. Uebrigens was soll ich dir schenken? Wo fehlt es?” Und die Antwort war: “Nichts, ich habe Alles.”

So ist es auch bisher gewesen, und ich hoffe und wünsche, es soll immer so bleiben. Du hast regelmässig zu essen, guten Schlaf, kräftige Glieder, dein eigenes schönes Zimmer mit Nippsachen, Bibliothek, Bildern, und der Diana mit dem Hirsch, hast freilich auch deine Plage mit den Wörterbüchern, Grammatiken

“Und was sonst für Bücher send,”

dafür aber auch ein Boot, ein Dog-cart, und nebenbei gelegentliche “Sprees”—Tanzen, Schwimmen, einen gelegentlichen Ritt mit Onkel Meyer, und häufige Spaziergänge mit Onkel Schurz. Mehr kann ein fünfzehnjähriger Mensch nicht wollen, nicht einmal ersinnen.

Aber deine Bemerkung gab mir doch zu denken. Hattest du wirklich Alles? Oder vielmehr hatte ich gar Nichts, was dir nicht jeder Andere eben so gut, wie ich, geben konnte? Mussten es gerade

Kleider sein, oder Spielsachen, Bilder, Bücher, Statuen, oder gar Candy, von dem du doch mehr redest, als issest. Wenn ich dir etwas schenkte, so sollte es etwas Besseres sein, als das Landläufige, das in den Läden zu kaufen ist, und etwas, das du nur von mir erhalten könntest. Und dabei gerieth ich auf den Gedanken, welchen ich heute, da du fünfzehn Jahre alt geworden bist, ausgeführt habe. *Quod felix, faustum fortunatumque sit.*

Als unser Ernst mehrere Jahre alt war, und nachdem er einige Krankheiten ohne Schaden überstanden hatte, fing ich an, für ihn von meinen literarischen Erzeugnissen so viel zu sammeln, wie ich noch auftreiben konnte. Bis zu einem gewissen Grade gelang mir das auch; manche Dinge sind aber verloren, trotz meiner gelegentlichen Bemühungen, sie zu erwerben. Was ich bis zu jener Zeit hatte drucken lassen—populäre und fachwissenschaftliche Sachen, und Handschriftliches, mit welchem ich die Lesewelt verschont hatte—liess ich damals zusammenbinden und schrieb seinen Namen hinein. Um ihm eine vollständige Sammlung dieser Dinge zu hinterlassen, wenn er einmal gross gewesen wäre, behielt ich das Sammeln als Gewohnheit bei, denn nun hatte ich einen Zweck damit zu erfüllen. Es war ja für ihn. Auch seit den mehr als zehn Jahren, während welcher du mein einziges Kind gewesen bist, bin ich dieser Gewohnheit treu geblieben, doch sind mir Sachen abhanden gekommen, welche ich jetzt gern bewahren würde, zum Theil damit die Sammlung einmal vollständig auf dich kommen würde—als

Ernst's natürliche Erbin—zum Theil für meinen heutigen Zweck.

Dieser Zweck ist, dir ein Geburtstagsgeschenk zu machen, welches die anderen Leute dir doch nicht geben können, und wie es vielleicht noch kein amerikanisches Mädchen deines Alters erhalten hat. In den zwei Bänden, welche ich dir hier zusammengestellt habe, findest du eine Reihe von Veröffentlichungen nicht fachwissenschaftlichen Inhalts, so weit es möglich ist, die letzteren von einfach populären Arbeiten streng zu trennen. Ich will aber gleich hier sagen, dass ich nicht die Absicht habe, dir einen Schreck einzujagen. Du brauchst nämlich die Dinge gar nicht zu lesen, oder nur zum Theil, oder nicht jetzt, vielleicht einmal künftig, wenn dein Interesse an den Gegenständen, welche ich behandelt, den Idealen, welchen ich nachgestrebt, und den Zielen, für welche ich gearbeitet habe, mit zunehmendem Alter gewachsen sein wird. Wenn ich dir diese Sammlung heute widme, zur Beendigung deines fünfzehnten Kinderjahres, so geschieht es weil du doch eigentlich schon ein ganz verständiger Mensch bist, weil ich mit Bestimmtheit darauf rechne, dass dein Ausblick und deine Interessen an Welt und Menschen, und an ihren Arbeiten und Zielen, sich schnell erweitern werden, und—weil ich diese kleine Arbeit gern einmal gethan haben wollte, ehe es zu spät ist. Hier ist sie nun, fix und fertig, und gehört dir, Grete, ganz allein, als dein Geburtstagsgeschenk.

Deshalb entzieht sich dieselbe auch der öffentlichen Kritik. Meine freundlichen Feinde werden

daher keine Gelegenheit haben, den Inhalt, den Stil, den Werth der folgenden Aufsätze und Arbeiten zu bemängeln, und meine feindlichen Freunde brauchen sich nicht zu bemühen, mir klar zu machen, dass es genug ist, solche Dinge Einmal drucken zu lassen. Das ist alles richtig, Grete, und auch, dass wenn die Dinge, oder manche von ihnen, welche ich dir heute widme, unreif oder unbedeutend sind, oder wären, ich vielleicht kein Recht hätte sie wieder drucken zu lassen. Aber ich wiederhole: Sie sind, wie man das nennt, "als Manuscript gedruckt." Es giebt allerdings nur Eine Klasse von Leuten, von denen man sogar das kleinlichste und dummste wieder abdruckt, einerlei ob sie lebendig oder schon todt sind, und pflichtschuldigst bewundert; die Klasse sind die wirklich grossen, oder wirklich berühmten, oder wirklich berücktigten Männer. Wenn Goethe und Washington und Adams ein Wort mitzureden gehabt hätten, so hätten sie nicht erlaubt, dass der Nachwelt Alles aufgetischt wird, was sie in Stunden der Flaueheit oder Müdigkeit oder Unverdaulichkeit Banales und Unfruchtbares geleistet haben. Auch wenn mein Freund Miquel, der viel besprochene preussische Finanzminister, nicht so berühmt wäre, so würde man ihm die communistisch-atheistisch-abruzzenhaften Briefe aus seiner Studentenzeit nicht jetzt öffentlich aufnutzen. Ich kann dir versichern, Grete, dass ich in demselben Sommer 1850, als wir in Göttingen dieselben Zimmer bewohnten, eben so dumme Briefe geschrieben habe, die es aber Niemand der Mühe für Werth gehalten hat zu stehlen und öffentlich zu

benützen. Du wirst einmal künftig ein Paquet davon bekommen. Ich bin eben noch nicht berühmt, ich bin noch jung.

Was diese zwei Bände enthalten, ist leicht ersichtlich. Was sie nicht enthalten, sind Dinge die entweder verloren sind—*habent sua fata libelli*, es giebt noch viel mehr Geschriebenes und auch Gedrucktes, das Niemanden mehr drückt—oder solche, welche ich mit Fleiss entfernt habe. Zu diesen letzten gehören Artikel über den Einfluss des Turnens auf die Gesundheit, welche ich 1854, kurz nach meiner Ankunft im Lande, in der Zeitung des Sozialistischen Turnerbundes veröffentlichte. Sie gipfeln in dem Aussprechen des Zwecks der Turnerei wie ich sie auffasste: “Harmonische Ausbildung des ganzen Menschen, und durch sie Freiheit und Gleichheit.” Sie wurden fünfzehn Jahre später in einer andern Turnzeitung wieder abgedruckt, enthalten aber nichts besonders Neues, und wir wollen sie ruhen lassen. Wenn nur die Turnerei leben bleibt, so ist das wichtiger. In jene uralte Zeit fallen auch Artikel, welche ich für die *Staats-Zeitung* schrieb. Darunter waren geschichtliche Darstellungen der ersten communistisch verwalteten Ansiedlungen auf amerikanischem Boden, für welche ich grosses Interesse hatte. Da die alle verschwunden sind, so mögen meine Artikel ihr Schicksal theilen. Ferner erinnere ich mich an einen oder zwei Artikel über die Quacksalberei in New York, welche damals mit Grinsen gelesen wurden. Ich habe nicht versucht sie mir für dieses Buch zu verschaffen. Denn, Grete, kein Artikel

aus dem Jahre 1854, der damaligen Quacksalberei gewidmet, vergleicht sich annähernd mit dem, welcher über die heutige geschrieben werden müsste. Wir sind eben, hier und in Europa, auf der aufsteigenden Strasse zu Marktschreierei und brotsucherischer Findigkeit nicht stehen geblieben. Damals war der Quacksalber noch brutal naiv, und individuell; der lebt freilich auch noch, hat aber seine weltmännischen, hofberechtigten, zweispännigen Brüder. Es entwickelt sich eben Alles, in der sogenannten Politik auch. Damals war Tammany noch lange nicht einmal Tweed, heute ist es schon Croker und Scannell.

Artikel social-politischen Inhalts aus der *New Yorker Reform* vom Jahre 1853 und 1854 sind verloren.

Es fehlen mir auch noch eine Anzahl Dinge, welche ich ganz gern besässe, ein paar revolutionäre "Gedichte"—*sit venia verbo*—aus dem achtundvierziger Jahre und ein paar Aufsätze aus jener Zeit, politischen Inhalts. Ich erinnere mich auch, dass ich schon in jener Zeit—in welcher wir glaubten, hochpoetische, unverständene Ideale in praktische Politik direkt umsetzen zu können—Flugschriften und Catechismen über politische und sociale Fragen zusammen schweisste, von denen ein Theil sogar gedruckt und verbreitet wurde. Sie wurden mit meinen Anklageakten aus meinen politischen Processen, mit rothmützigen Studentensilhouetten aus Greifswald, und andern gefährlich aussehenden Sachen von einigen ängstlichen Leuten vernichtet. Wie gesagt, ich hätte sie gar gern; ob ich sie dir aber wieder auftischen würde, ist eine

andere Frage. Für den nachdenklichen Menschen ist es übrigens von Werth, sich seine eigene Entfaltung an gewissen Erinnerungszeichen wieder zu vergegenwärtigen. Ich hoffe du wirst nicht versäumen, recht vieles von dem, was du selber thust und schreibst, eben so Briefe welche du erhältst, als Erinnerungen gewissenhaft zu bewahren. Wenn du einmal alt wirst, werden dir solche Marksteine angenehm sein.

Uebrigens enthält dieses Buch auch Dinge, welche ich nicht geschrieben habe. Dahin gehören zum Beispiel ein Editorial des *New York Medical Record* über den Internationalen Congress, der Artikel aus dem *Albany Argus*, und die Rede von Dr. Caillé. Da diese Bände für dich sind und Niemanden sonst, so habe ich mich nicht gescheut sie einzuverleiben. Die beiden letzten haben mir seiner Zeit viel Vergnügen gemacht. Dr. Caillé's Rede ist das Schmeichelhafteste und Ehrendste, was mir gesagt werden könnte, und gesagt worden ist; es hat nur Eines gegeben, was meinem Selbstbewusstsein vielleicht noch mehr schmeichelte, nämlich die kürzlich gestellte Zumuthung, einen überaus wichtigen Platz in Deutschland einzunehmen. Du weisst jedoch was du mir sofort sagtest als ich dich fragte: Sollen wir annehmen Grete. Es war: Papa, ich will nicht und du willst nicht. Einige andere Dinge ähnlicher Art, welche ich gern meiner Tochter hinterlassen hätte, sind leider verloren.

“Ich will nicht und du willst nicht.”

Ich habe an diese Bemerkung von dir öfter seither gedacht und mich darauf gefreut, dass du ein-

mal künftig, wenn du manche der hier folgenden Seiten durchblättern magst, die Ursache finden wirst, weshalb ich nicht wollte, und nicht wollen konnte, sondern binnen einer halben Stunde nach Empfang des überraschend schmeichelhaften Anerbietens meine ablehnende Antwort hinaus telegraphirte. Als ich vor vierzig Jahren nach Amerika kam, war ich dreiundzwanzig Jahre alt. Zwei meiner Jahre hatte ich in preussischen Gefängnissen zugebracht; dieselben waren nicht so sehr durch die Thatsache meiner Gefangenschaft, sondern durch die brutale Behandlung, welche ich erfahren musste, verbittert worden. Wenn du in Zukunft die Geschichte politischer Bestrebungen und Umwälzungen studiren wirst, wird dir klar werden, dass ich damals, und jetzt noch, der bestehenden Gewalt das Recht—das historische Recht—einräumte, sich gegen Angriffe sicher zu stellen. Aber Angriff und Vertheidigung sollen nicht hinterlistig, feig und brutal sein, wie die Massregeln waren, welche man gegen mich und meine Gesinnungsgenossen ergriff. Nach dem ich nun Gelegenheit gehabt hatte, den Staub des preussischen Bodens abzuschütteln und einige Monate in England vergeblich versucht hatte, festen Fuss zu fassen, auch die Anerbietungen welche mir in New England gemacht wurden, abgelehnt hatte, kam ich nach New York.

An der Hand vieler der hier abgedruckten Arbeiten ist ein Theil meines hiesigen Lebensganges kenntlich. Es gelang mir bald zu Praxis zu gelangen, und dadurch über eigentliche Nahrungsorgen hinwegzukommen. Aber das war mir na-

türlich nicht genug. Von frühen Jahren an fühlte ich das Bedürfniss, mich im öffentlichen Leben nützlich zu machen. Das ist aber unmöglich, so lange man allein steht. Sobald es möglich war, theilte ich mich an öffentlichen Angelegenheiten, zum Theil des Volkes, zu dem ich eingewandert war, zum grösseren Theil des Standes, dem ich angehörte. An der Politik habe ich natürlich Antheil genommen, wie das jeder Bürger thun soll; aber energische active Betheiligung meinerseits fällt wohl nur in die ersten zwanzig Jahre meines hiesigen Aufenthaltes. Von einer überaus fruchtbaren, nachhaltig wirkenden und aussergewöhnlich bedeutenden Thätigkeit, wie sie Onkel Schurz zum Segen der ganzen Republik entfaltet hat, war natürlich keine Rede. Meine Aufmerksamkeit galt der Medicin und dem ärztlichen Stande. Von jener will ich hier gar nicht reden, denn was ich dir hier biete, ist nicht fachlich, und an streng medicinischen Gegenständen wirst du hoffentlich in deinem ganzen Leben kein thätiges Interesse nehmen. Aber was ich im ärztlichen Stande, und für seine wissenschaftlichen, moralischen und socialen Interessen gearbeitet und etwa geleistet habe, daran kannst du theilnehmen und das verstehst du. In Einzelheiten will ich nicht eingehen; du weisst, dass ich nicht einer der Unbekanntesten geblieben bin, und dass mir viele Beweise der Achtung und viele Ehrenstellen zu Theil geworden sind. Um keine habe ich mich jemals bemüht. Sie sind mir entgegengekommen. Und das ist, was ich betonen will. Denke dir, es käme ein junger amerikanischer Mediciner nach Europa, speciell nach Deutsch-

land. Es ist einfach unmöglich zu denken, dass man ihm entgegenkommen, oder gekommen sein, würde wie mir hier. Von den ersten Jahren meines Hierseins, als die Collegen sahen, dass ich mich wissenschaftlich beschäftigte und mich an ihren Arbeiten und Zielen eifrig und stetig betheiligte, standen mir Thür und Thor offen. Diese Hospitalität und Zuvorkommenheit habe ich den Eingeborenen niemals vergessen, und nach Kräften entgolten. Es giebt keine grossen wissenschaftlichen und wirthschaftlichen Fragen des Standes, an welchen ich mich nicht gern betheiligt hätte. Ich habe gern die Hand geboten und man hat sie in der Regel gern genommen. In der Weise ist wohl zu Stande gekommen, was in dem überaus freundlichen Urtheile des Dr. Caillé ausgesprochen ist.

Worauf ich immer wieder Werth lege, das ist die Leichtigkeit, mit welcher es mir hier gestattet wurde, in Reih' und Glied zu treten, Schulter an Schulter mit Gleichgestimmten zu arbeiten, und gelegentlich auch die Führerschaft zu übernehmen. Das konnte nur in Amerika geschehen. Und nun, während die Regierungsform des republikanischen Landes den Idealen meiner Jugendjahre am meisten zusagte, fand ich in dem Zuvorkommen des Standes die Bethätigung des republikanischen Sinnes. War ich früher Republikaner aus Prinzip, so wurde ich amerikanischer Republikaner aus Gefühl, aus Dankbarkeit. Keine bittere Erfahrung persönlicher Natur hat jemals diese Stimmung abgeschwächt. Ueberall, auch hier, giebt es schwache Menschen, kleinliche Rücksichten, krass egoistische Ziele — denn Menschen können überall

klein sein — aber die Seele unseres Volkes ist gross angelegt, sein Herz ist weiter, sein Blick freier, sein Horizont ausgedehnter, als die des monarchischen Europa. Das weiss Niemand besser, als Derjenige, welcher seine Erfahrungen in beiden Welten gesammelt hat. Keiner, der, nachdem er im engen Thale viele Jahre verlebt hat, viele andere Jahre seine Brust auf sonnenreicher Höhe mit reinerer Luft gefüllt hat, sehnt sich in die Enge zurück.

Weisst du nun, Grete, weshalb ich mit dir übereinstimmte, als du sagtest: “Du willst nicht”? Mit dem ärztlichen Stande Amerika's bin ich verwachsen, an seinen Arbeiten habe ich Theil genommen, mit ihm Schwierigkeiten überwunden, Hindernisse aus dem Wege geräumt und die Pfade für eine ruhmreiche Zukunft geebnet. Einer des Volkes bin ich gern geworden, habe mit ihm getrauert und gelacht, habe seine Enttäuschungen getheilt, seiner Siege mich gefreut, seine Irrthümer beklagt, an seinem Erwachen mich gewärmt wie an der Sonne.

Kein anderes Land kann mich noch Bürger nennen. *Hic stamus*, du und ich.

Wenn ich vorhin Erfolge andeutete, so gab ich auch zugleich meine Meinung über einen Theil ihrer Ursachen. Natürlich gehören zu denselben auch eigene Arbeit. Aber auch Arbeitswilligkeit und Arbeitskraft, welche so recht persönliche Eigenschaft und Schöpfung zu sein scheinen, leisten unserer Eitelkeit und Selbstgefälligkeit keinen nachhaltigen Vorschub. Man sagt uns oft, wir seien selber unseres Schicksal's Schmied. In gewisser

Grenze ist das richtig, aber diese Grenze ist oft recht eng. Was uns schmieden hilft, ist vor allen Dingen unsere Anlage, die grösstentheils ererbt ist. Es hat mir immer geschienen, dass was ich an unermüdlicher Arbeitskraft und stillem und selbstlosem Schaffen besessen und bethätigt haben mag —einerlei, ob anerkannt und belohnt, oder nicht— auf Rechnung meiner guten Mutter kommt. Ein Stück von ihrem Herzen und ihrem Kopf geerbt zu haben, ist grosser Reichthum. Du hast sie nicht gekannt, auch nicht aus meinen Schilderungen, denn ich rede ja nicht viel, und am allerwenigsten von dem, was so weit hinter dir liegt. Es ist mir auch ganz recht, dass du deine Augen lieber vorwärts richtest; und möglich, dass ich Schweigsamkeit und Zurückhaltung auch von ihr geerbt habe, die so viel gearbeitet, gesorgt, geschwiegen und auch wohl nach innen geweint hat. Vor Jahren sahest du einmal einen einfachen Goldring, den sie getragen. Du hast lange vergessen, dass du fragtest, wem der gehöre. Ich sagte dir, er habe der Mutter gehört. “Der ist ja für deinen dicksten Finger zu gross,” sagtest du und warest erstaunt, als ich dir erwiederte, das sei von ihrer harten Arbeit gekommen. Aber sie war noch mehr als bloss eine schwer arbeitende Frau; davon will ich dir doch erzählen. Etwa ein Jahr bevor ich die für dich abgedruckten “Memoiren aus preussischen Gefängnissen” veröffentlichte, bekam sie die Erlaubniss, mich im Gefängnisse zu Minden, wo ich damals sass, zu besuchen. Seit anderthalb Jahren hatte ich sie nicht gesehen, auch kaum von ihr gehört, denn die preussische Polizei hatte einen ge-

legentlichen Briefwechsel zwischen Mutter und Sohn für staatsgefährlich erklärt. Sie sah blass und gedrückt aus, und sagte Nichts von sich, sondern bloss: "Mein lieber Junge, dir ist es aber schlecht gegangen." Als ich ihr dann mein Bedauern darüber ausdrückte, dass ich alle ihre Opferwilligkeit und Liebe nur mit Kummer und Sorgen bezahlt habe, sagte sie: "Lass das gut sein. Ich verstehe die Sachen nicht, und verstehe dich wohl nicht ganz. Aber du hast gethan, was du für recht gehalten hast, und du musst das immer thun." Liebe Grete, du hast Römische Geschichte studirt, und den Hauch des Alterthums zu athmen begonnen. Frage nach Römertugend und Römerbravheit, und ich nenne dir meine Mutter. Von ihr viel geerbt zu haben—man sagte, ich sähe ihr sehr ähnlich—ist ein grosses Glück; ein noch grösseres, wenn es mir im Laufe eines langen Lebens gelungen sein sollte, das, was ich von ihr übernommen, auch zu benützen und auszubilden. Denn ererben allein genügt nicht; es heisst, arbeiten.

"Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast,
Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen."

Und wenn du, Grete—du sollst mir ja recht ähnlich sehen—von mir etwas Gutes mitbekommst, so stammt das auch von ihr. In meiner Bayard Taylor Rede findest du Bemerkungen über den Einfluss des Deutschthums in Amerika. Wenn das richtig ist, oder lieber, da das richtig ist, so hast du einen grossen Vorthail vor vielen Anderen darin voraus, dass du jetzt schon ein ganz ordentliches Beispiel von dem bist, was sich unter dem Einfluss

der Völker- und Geistermischung in der Zukunft als Amerikanerthum entwickeln wird.

Wenn du einmal dazu kommen wirst, einzelne der folgenden Arbeiten durchzusehen, so wirst du lernen, in welchem Sinne ich meine Aufgabe für's Leben aufgefasst und zu erfüllen gesucht habe. Was ich nun auch gedacht, gewollt und gethan habe, ist natürlich meist vom ärztlichen Standpunkte aus geschehen. Die erste grosse Schwierigkeit auf dem Pfade des Arztes, der sich erst Brot verschaffen und Stellung erwerben muss, ist eben die Thatsache, dass seine besten Kräfte, und alle—oder fast alle—seine Zeit für diesen Zweck aufgewandt werden müssen. Eine ausschliesslich wissenschaftliche Laufbahn können sich nur diejenigen von Anfang an eröffnen, welche pecuniär sicher gestellt sind. Deren giebt es leider wenige, und ich habe nicht zu ihnen gehört; ich habe dir ja einmal erzählt, dass mein erster Rock ein Fuss zu lang, und ein halber zu weit, und auf sechsjährigen Zuwachs berechnet war. So kommt es dass manche fähige und kräftige Natur sich bis an das Ende seiner Jahre für die Erhaltung des Lebens abzumühen hat. Mir freilich ist es etwas besser dadurch gegangen, dass meine Gesundheit mir erlaubte, meine Tage tief in die Nächte hinein zu verlängern.

Als Arzt lag mir vor allen Dingen daran—natürlich—meine Schuldigkeit den einzelnen Kranken gegenüber zu erfüllen. Diese Thätigkeit ist nützlich, wohlthätig und befriedigend. Doch weisst du, dass ich seit vielen Jahren (zuerst seit fast vierunddreissig Jahren im Mount Sinai Hospital) mich auch an öffentlichen Anstalten betheiligt habe.

Die Geschichte der Gründung und Entwicklung des deutschen Dispensary und Hospitals findest du in einer Reihe von Arbeiten vertreten.

Der Wunsch mich im öffentlichen Leben nützlich zu machen, liess mich früh daran denken, was ich gelernt, auch zum Lehren zu verwenden. Im Jahre 1857 habe ich zuerst mich in Vorlesungen versucht, seit 1860 bin ich regelmässig in verschiedenen Schulen—seit 1870 im College of Physicians and Surgeons—als Lehrer thätig gewesen. Aber meine Verbindung mit Colleges hat mich nie gehindert daran zu denken, dass ich zu dem grossen ärztlichen Stande gehöre und ihm meine beste Kraft zu widmen habe. Dafür wirst du mancherlei Beweise antreffen. Meinen Arbeiten im Interesse der County Society, der State Medical Society, der Internationalen Congresse, und der Academy of Medicine wirst du vielfach begegnen. Besonders auf die letztere habe ich manche Initiative verwandt; du wirst die Andeutung meiner erst zurückgewiesenen, dann mit Erfolg gekrönten Bemühungen um unsern Neubau nicht vermissen; von meinen Reden in ihrem Interesse, und bei ihren Feierlichkeiten, habe ich alles für dich abgedruckt, was von allgemeinem—nicht fachlich medicinischem—Interesse ist. Auch meine Betheiligung bei der Umänderung des Code of Ethics, und meine Arbeiten im Interesse der Erhöhung der Ansprüche an diejenigen, welche Medicin studiren wollen, und an diejenigen, welche Medicin studirt haben und nun praktiziren wollen, können in diesem Zusammenhange genannt werden.

Ein kleiner Theil der folgenden Arbeiten beschäf-

tigt sich mit Personen. Was dich daraus interessieren wird—schon aus vielen persönlichen Gründen—ist der Nachruf an Dr. Ernst Krackowizer. Du wirst ihn einmal lesen; denn das Charakterbild eines würdigeren Mannes ist niemals entworfen worden. Du wirst dann einsehen wie es Recht und Pflicht war,

“Ein Grab

Dem vielgeliebten Bruder aufzuwerfen.”*

Andere Arbeiten beschäftigen sich mit dem Verhältnisse des Arztes zum Publikum; am wichtigsten erscheinen mir darunter meine Bemühungen um das Willard Parker Hospital, dass meiner Initiative seinen Ursprung verdankt, und vielleicht auch um die Verbesserung der Lage der Kinder in den Fabriken, in deren Interesse der Kampf in der Legislatur des Staates erst nach meiner Inauguralrede vom Jahre 1882 aufgenommen wurde—mit wenigstens einigem Erfolg. Dabei fällt mir auch ein, dass ich mich um euch Schulkinder auch verdient gemacht habe. Das ging so zu. Zuerst war es die Harlem Medical Association, welche sich für die Verlängerung der Sommerferien für die öffentlichen Schulen interessirte. Früher fing der Unterricht am ersten Montag des September an; meine Forderung, dass der dritte Montag der Anfangstermin sein sollte, wurde freilich nicht erfüllt. Der zweite Montag wurde aber angenommen, und die eine Woche für deine Schicksalsgenossen gerettet, und für die Schoolma'ams, bei denen ich eine kurze Zeit—denke einmal—ganz populär war.

* *Τάφον*

Χώρουν' ἀδελφῶ φιλτατῶ πορεύσομαι.

—SOPH. *Antigone*.

Für Manche würde vielleicht auch die Thatsache interessant war, dass während meines Präsidiums in der Medical Society of the County of New York, 1871 und 1872, zum ersten Male eine Frau als Mitglied aufgenommen wurde. Der Widerstand des ärztlichen Standes gegen die Zulassung von weiblichen Aerzten war damit gebrochen, und die Medical Societies unseres und anderer Staaten, und die American Medical Association folgten dem Beispiel. Damit wurde die Frage nicht entschieden—sie wurde auch nicht gestellt—ob mit dieser Zulassung der Wissenschaft oder dem Publikum genutzt werde, sondern nur der republikanische Grundsatz der Gleichberechtigung Aller, ohne Rücksicht auf Farbe, Race, Religion, Geschlecht, “and previous conditions of servitude” ein für alle Mal verwirklicht.

Auch persönlich unbehagliche Reminiscenzen werden wieder aufgefrischt. Die Arbeiten, welche auf die Zustände der Fürsorge für kleine Kinder in unseren öffentlichen Anstalten Bezug haben, richteten sich gegen die enorme Sterblichkeit derselben und gegen die vernunftwidrige Verschwendung der städtischen und staatlichen Gelder durch Privatleute. Ich habe die Genugthuung, damals einige Aenderungen erzwungen zu haben, freilich nicht ohne harte Kämpfe, bei denen ich zu unterliegen schien. Du wirst die Geschichte erzählt finden, dass man mich aufforderte zu resigniren, dass ich aber vorzog mich hinauswerfen zu lassen. Ich war im Recht, der Erfolg bewies es sehr bald; aber ich hatte die Eitelkeit und Rechthaberei zahlreicher

einflussreicher Leute verletzt, und ich sollte dafür büssen ; ich sollte vernichtet werden. Aber

Si fractus illabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

Nun, Grete, der Erdball ist nicht zerbrochen bei aller der Herrschaften Getöse, und ich bin ja auch noch da. Der Kampf übrigens, den ich damals allein unternahm, wird jetzt wieder aufgenommen. Die letzte Arbeit dieses Buches ist in der grossen Conferenz gelesen worden, welche vom 14. bis 16. November 1893 abgehalten wurde, und welche sich zum besten Theil mit genau denselben Fragen beschäftigt hat. Dieselben werden wohl vor die Constitutional Convention des nächsten Jahres gebracht werden, denn es handelt sich jetzt nicht mehr um den Kampf eines einzelnen einflusslosen Doktors, sondern um das öffentliche Gewissen, das in den ausgesprochenen Gesinnungen von Hunderten von gesellschaftlich angesehenen und einflussreichen Männern und Weibern seinen Ausdruck findet.

Die Erinnerung an die Kinder, liebe Grete, für welche ich die Lanze brach, führt mich nun aber zu meinem eigenen Kinde zurück. Wir können beide, du und ich, die langen Vorreden nicht leiden. Also hier ist für mein Geburtstagskind mein Glückwunsch und mein Geschenk. Ich hoffe, dass es dir jetzt, oder einmal in der Zukunft, eine so grosse Genugthuung verschaffen wird, wie seine Vorbereitung mir eine heimliche, herzliche Freude gewesen ist.

DEIN PAPA.

ZUM 28. DECEMBER 1893.

MEMOIREN AUS PREUSSISCHEN GEFAENGNISSEN.

ICH komme mit meinen kurzen Memoiren spät, indessen so früh wie ich es vermag, da ich erst seit wenigen Monaten die Mauern der preussischen Gefängnisse und die Grenzen Deutschlands hinter mir gelassen habe. So viel jedoch ist gewiss, dass der erste grosse Prozess der Arbeiterpartei in Deutschland bei der deutschen Bevölkerung Amerika's nicht an Interesse verloren haben kann. Dass dies nicht der Fall, beweiset die Aufmerksamkeit, welche dem Kommunistenprozess zu Köln gezollt, beweiset die Theilnahme, welche den Verurtheilten bewiesen wurde, trotz des Klatschens von Seiten der Reaktionsärs aller Schattirungen, der natürlichen Feinde des Radikalismus, und trotz der Schmähungen von Seiten sich selber so nennender Parteigenossen, welche sich sicher fühlen, weil sie glauben, von Verurtheilten und Gefangenen nicht Lügen gestraft zu werden. Ich bin erfreut, die nachfolgenden Blätter in einer Stadt veröffentlichen zu können, deren deutsche Bevölkerung—ich meine besonders den sozialen Turnverein von New York als Vorort der Turnvereine Amerika's—ihre Theilname an dem Schicksale der Verurtheilten und an den Grundsätzen, für welche sie seit Jahren und für Jahre dulden, nicht blos erklärt, sondern thätlich bewiesen hat, und benutze gern diese Gelegenheit, im

Namen der Verurtheilten und Gefangenen der Sympathie von Parteigenossen meine Anerkennung, für ihre bereitwillige Unterstützung meinen Dank, öffentlich auszusprechen. Ich sehe mich ausserdem *verpflichtet*, heute, am Jahrestage der Verurtheilung der Kämpfer im Dienste der Arbeiter, meine Stimme zu erheben, weil Keiner unter den drei in Köln, gleich mir, nicht Verurtheilten sich gefunden hat, um der Wahrheit die Ehre zu geben. Von Niemandem, der richtige Thatsachen und Urtheile zu geben im Stande ist, hat die Oeffentlichkeit etwas gehört; es sei denn von einem preussischen Polizeispion,* der noch kürzlich sich bemüht hat, das verkannte demokratische Genie, den nicht gewürdigten grossen Mann des Jahrhunderts zu spielen, und—alles natürlich im Interesse der Demokratie—hinterher immer wieder von dem Kothurn seiner tragi-komischen Rechtfertigungsversuche herunterklettert, um diensteifrig in London den Wegweiser und Nomenclator des Herrn Stieber zu machen.

Ueber den Kommunistenprozess, auf welchen ich hier noch einmal die öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit lenke, ist seiner Zeit viel geredet und geschrieben worden. So lange indessen die Untersuchung dauerte, sorgte die preussische Polizei und Bureaukratie dafür, dass nicht viel Sicheres in die Oeffentlichkeit gelangen konnte; und als endlich die öffentlichen Verhandlungen einen freien Blick erlaubt hätten, sorgten die Angst vor Polizei und Bureaukratie auf der Seite der deutschen Zeitungen, der Parteihass

* W. Hirsch.

und die Rachsucht der Reaktionärs, die sich durch mehr als eine Verurtheilung zu rächen hatten, auf der andern Seite, ferner die unwillkührlichen Missverständnisse oder die willkührlichen Verdrehungen Derjenigen, welche sich so gern "Demokraten" nennen, dafür, dass kaum Jemand, welcher den Verhandlungen nicht mit eigenen Ohren gefolgt ist, im Stande ist, nach den in die Welt gesandten Berichten sich ein genügendes Urtheil zu bilden. Ist doch noch in den letzten Tagen der Versuch gemacht worden, den Parteistandpunkt der Angeklagten zu verdrehen, und so die Wichtigkeit des Prozesses für die Arbeiterpartei als nicht existirend darzustellen; hat man doch versucht, die revolutionären Vorkämpfer der Zukunft hinter die gedankenlosen und ungebildeten Putschmacher zu stellen, den rohen Fäusten den Vorrang zu geben vor der *denkenden* revolutionären Thatkraft, der Willkühr leidenschaftlicher Ausbrüche vor der historischen Entwicklung der materiellen Nothwendigkeit.

Am 11. Mai 1851 wurde Nothjunk verhaftet. Er hatte sich ohne Legitimationspapiere von Berlin nach Leipzig begeben, wurde angehalten, auf die Polizei geführt, durchsucht—die Folge seiner Unvorsichtigkeit war die Wegnahme zweier Rundschreiben des Kommunistenbundes von März 1850 und Dezember 1850, der von Bürgers und Röser in Köln für Nothjunk ausgestellten Vollmacht, der Statuten des Kommunistenbundes vom Dezember 1850, und einiger anderer, weniger bedeutender Schriftstücke.

Ich kam an demselben 11. Mai nach Berlin und suchte nach einigen Tagen Nothjunk auf. Er war

seit Kurzem nicht mehr gesehen, man wusste Nichts über seinen Aufenthalt. Die Thatsache, dass keine Spur von Nothjunk's Verbleiben aufzufinden sei, theilte ich Bürgers in einem Briefchen vom 14. Mai mit, welches später die Ursache meiner Verhaftung wurde.

Kurz vor jener Zeit hatte in Hannover ein demokratischer Kongress stattgefunden, dem Dr. Becker und Bürgers beiwohnten. Jener reiste nach Köln zurück, dieser weiter nach Hamburg und Berlin, wo ich ihn am 17. Mai traf. Am folgenden Tage erhielten wir von Becker die ihm von Leipzig sofort mitgetheilte Nachricht von Nothjunk's Verhaftung; an demselben Tage erfuhr ich in dessen Wohnung, dass Polizeibeamte seine Effekten durchsucht hatten. Wir nahmen als gewiss an, dass Nothjunk nicht so unvorsichtig gewesen sein könne, kompromittirende Papiere bei sich zu tragen; Bürgers reiste daher am Abend des 19. Mai nach Breslau. An demselben Tage wurden in Folge der bei Nothjunk gefundenen Schriftstücke und Briefe Röser und Dr. Becker verhaftet. Sie hatten Zeit gehabt, sich etwaiger polizeiwidriger Dinge zu entledigen; um so auffallender ist die Thatsache, dass bei Becker eine Abschrift des Rundschreibens vom März 1850 gefunden wurde.

Was nun die Thätigkeit und Schnelligkeit der preussischen Polizei betrifft, von welcher Herr Stieber und sein Freund Goldheim so viel Aufhebens machen, so mögen die Thatsachen reden. Am 11. Mai wird Nothjunk verhaftet, nach acht Tagen Röser und Becker. Möglich ist, dass die sächsische Polizei diese erste Verzögerung verschuldet hat, aber: am Abend des 19. Mai, an welchem Tage die

beiden Verhaftungen in Köln und die Haussuchung bei Bürgers vorgenommen wurden, wird diesem auf der Berliner Polizei sein nach Breslau frisch visirter Pass verabreicht. Trägt der Telegraph die Schuld? Wenn Herr Stieber und Herr von Hinkeldey das behaupten, so ist es doch für die Polizei der Herren kein gerade hohes Lob, dass Bürgers in Breslau nicht einmal beunruhigt wurde und erst bei seiner Ankunft in Dresden am 24. Mai von den zum zweiten Male vom Zufall begünstigten Sachsen gefangen werden musste. An demselben Tage wurde Dr. Daniels in Köln verhaftet, am 25. früh Morgens wurde ich von einem Dutzend unwiderstehlich höflicher Konstabler in die Stadtvoigtei gebeten.

Einige Wochen später folgte in Köln Reiff, am 24. Juli Otto, am 25. September Dr. Klein; Lessner wurde von Mainz, wo er durch Rathskammerbeschluss von der Beschuldigung der Theilnahme am Kommunistenbunde freigesprochen worden war, im Laufe des Jahres 1852 ausgeliefert, weil die Preussen es noch einmal mit derselben Anklage gegen ihn versuchen wollten, und im Juli 1852 machte Erhard das Dutzend der Angeklagten voll. Der Zwölfte nämlich, Ferdinand Freiligrath, hatte sich glücklicher Weise wenige Tage vor unserer Verhaftung nach England begeben.

So lange ich mich in der Stadtvoigtei befand, nämlich bis zum 20. Juni, wurde ich nach den Regeln der "Hausordnung" behandelt. So streng diese auch war, so hatte ich doch nicht über Ausnahmsregeln zu klagen. Während der ersten drei Tage ass ich meinen Brei, wie jeder Andere, stand pünktlich um 5 Uhr auf, schleifte um halb sechs

Uhr Abends *auf Kommando* meinen Strohsack vom Gange in meine Zelle, kleidete mich aus und legte mich "zu Bett," unterschied mich also von allen übrigen Gefangenen bloß dadurch, daß ich den Vorzug hatte, mich ohne Beschäftigung langweilen zu müssen. Das in meiner Wohnung gefundene Geld enthielt man mir vor, stattete es mir jedoch nach einer Reihe von Monaten zurück. Als ich mir indessen nach einigen Tagen Geld verschafft hatte, traten die gesetzlichen Vergünstigungen ein: ich bekam eine Matratze, konnte bis 8 Uhr Abends ausserhalb des Bettes sein, durfte bis zum Betrage von 10 Thalern monatlich verausgaben, hatte demnach erträglichere Nahrung, konnte aus einer Leihbibliothek Romane beziehen, durfte mich sogar täglich mit Seife waschen, die nicht stank. Bewegung indessen gab es für mich nicht mehr, als diejenige, welche meine kleine, einsame Zelle gestattete, und Luft keine andere, als diejenige, welche sich von fünf Uhr Morgens bis halb sechs Uhr Abends, zu welcher Zeit das Fenster verschlossen wurde, durch das enge Drahtgitter hindurchbemühte.

Aber ich irre mich. Sagte nicht alle vier Tage der Aufseher *vor* dem Essen: "Ich nehme Sie nacher en bissen 'raus!" Und "nahm" er mich nicht *nach* dem Essen "en bissen 'raus" auf den Gang, der nicht ganz so kurz und nicht ganz so hell war, wie meine Zelle? Und verordnete mir nicht die letzten drei Tage meines Aufenthaltes in der Stadtvoigtei Herr Polizeidirector Schulz jeden Tag eine Dosis von einer halbstündigen Bewegung im "Garten"? Und war nicht der "Garten" das niedrigste Stückchen Land, das man mit vier Händen

zudecken und auf dem ein Gefängnissdirektor zwanzig Blumentöpfe und ein Mistbeet in Duodezformat anbringen kann? Und wurde ich nicht als Gentleman behandelt, indem man mich von den bleichen Gesichtern, welche ich, wenn ich zum Verhör geführt wurde, "spazieren führen," d. h. im Kreise herum treiben, sah, sorgsam absonderte? Und hatte nicht Herr Polizeidirektor Schulz die ausserordentliche Liberalität, mir in den letzten Stunden vor meiner Abführung nach Köln drei meiner Bücher zu gestatten? und konnte Herr Schulz dafür, dass ich verstockt genug war, seine Liberalität für nichts als einen Kniff zu erklären, vermittelt dessen ich von dem Mangel des Tendenzhasses und des Tendenzkrieges bei den Preussen überzeugt werden sollte? Und konnte abermals Herr Schulz dafür, dass ich seine Behauptung, er habe bis zu der Stunde meiner Abführung nach Köln Nichts darüber gewusst, dass man jedoch in Köln meine Anwesenheit rasch und dringend verlange, für unwahr erklärte?

Wie es sich mit der letzten Angabe des Herrn Schulz genau verhielt, erfuhr ich erst viel später. Der Instruktionsrichter zu Köln wusste nicht, was er an mir inquiriren und instruiren sollte, nachdem er erfahren hatte, was gegen mich vorlag. Er lehnte daher meine Auslieferung ab. Aber es erfolgte ein Schreiben und eine Depesche von Berlin nach der andern, welche mich offerirten, wovon die Folge war, dass der ennuyirte Kölner endlich wich und seine Zustimmung zu meiner Transportirung nach Köln gab, welche also Herrn Schulz nichts weniger, als unerwartet kommen konnte.

Die Untersuchung gegen mich, wegen "Hochverraths," wurde nicht von einem Instruktionsrichter geleitet, sondern blieb Polizeiangelegenheit, und ich war während der ganzen Zeit meines Aufenthaltes in der Stadtvoigtei in den Händen des Polizeidirektors Schulz. Ich hatte einige Tage zu warten, bis ich endlich von dem genannten Herrn, der einen blasirtäugigen, dünnbeinigen, abgelebten Berliner Referendarius, dessen Name mir immer wie "Sancho Panza" klang, als Schreiber benutzte, verhört wurde. Herr Schulz schlug sofort den richtigen Weg ein, d. e. er befahl mir, "Nichts zu leugnen," da er "ein sehr gewandter Criminalist" sei und doch Alles erfahren werde. Seine offenerherzige Bescheidenheit rührte mich natürlich so sehr, dass ich ihm Alles sagte, was er wissen sollte; für Herrn Schulz aber, der im Anfange recht zuvorkommend und höflich war, leider immer nicht genug; denn er war so wissbegierig und theilnehmend, dass er an einem Tage sich acht Stunden lang mit mir "unterhielt," wie er sich auszudrücken beliebte, und doch nach 14 Tagen erklärte, ich habe ihm noch gar Nichts gesagt. Dagegen behauptete er, Bürgers, dem er in Dresden seine Aufwartung gemacht hatte und den er zwölf Stunden quälte, habe ihm Alles gesagt, "die Fäden der Verschwörung seien in seiner Hand," auch Nothjunk habe in Leipzig "umfassende Geständnisse" abgelegt. Dasselbe sagte er natürlich Bürgers von mir. So reis'te Herr Schulz fortwährend zwischen Berlin, Leipzig und Dresden.

In Dresden stellte er Bürgers eines Tages vor, wie Nothjunk hartnäckig schweige und dadurch

gerade die Untersuchung, welche sonst bald beendigt sein werde, in die Länge ziehe; Bürgers solle ihm daher einige Zeilen an Nothjunk mitgeben, um diesen zu bewegen, Erklärungen zu geben. Bürgers kannte sämtliche konfiszirte Papiere, Zurückhaltung über diese war daher nicht an der Stelle, er konnte zu dem nicht wissen, ob Nothjunk nicht wirklich ganz schweige, war indessen vorsichtig genug, diesem zu schreiben, es sei unnütz und unangebracht, den Inhalt der Schriftstücke zu leugnen, er solle deshalb dem Herrn Schulz seine Erklärungen abgeben, wobei er natürlich nicht nöthig habe, irgend Jemand zu kompromittiren. Herr Schulz reis't mit diesem Briefe nach Leipzig zu Nothjunk, lässt ihn vorführen, zeigt ihm den Brief, indem er jedoch die Warnung, Niemand zu kompromittiren, mit dem Finger bedeckt, fragt, ob er die Handschrift kenne. Nothjunk erwidert: nein. Ei, er müsse doch die Handschrift kennen, sagt Herr Schulz, es sei ja die von Bürgers, der ihn auffordere, vollständige Geständnisse abzulegen, um der Sache ein Ende zu machen. Nothjunk war indessen nicht im Stande, die Handschrift zu erkennen und den Brief für ächt zu halten, bis er ihn vollständig, unbedeckt und unzerstückelt vor sich hatte. So hatte die übergrosse "Gewandtheit" des "Criminalisten" Schulz für dies Mal, wie für andere Male, keinen Erfolg — keinen anderen Erfolg wenigstens, als Aussicht auf fernere Beförderung und den angenehmen Genuss der Reisediäten, welche sich ihm eines Tages in Gestalt eines dickleibigen Paquets preussischer Bankscheine präsentirten.

Von einer geregelten Führung des Prozesses konnte erst von der Zeit an die Rede sein, als sämtliche Angeklagte an einem und demselben Orte sich befanden und die ganze Sache einem und demselben Instruktionsrichter übergeben wurde. Am 21. Juni 1851 kam ich in Köln an und erhielt von dem Instruktionsrichter Pfeffer die Versicherung, dass Bürgers von Dresden und Nothjunk von Leipzig jeden Tag erwartet würden, und dass sofort nach ihrer Ankunft die Untersuchung geschlossen werden könnte, da die Sachlage höchst einfach sei. Er erklärte mir auf das Bestimmteste, dass innerhalb 14 Tagen die Untersuchung zu Ende geführt sein werde; mir speziell erklärte er, ich solle in dem Falle *“nicht vergessen, mir meine konfiszierten Papiere wieder herausgeben zu lassen,”* indem er für gewiss hielt, dass gegen mich nicht der leiseste Vorwand zu einer fernern Haft gefunden werden könnte. Aber die vierzehn Tage gingen vorüber und weder war die Untersuchung geschlossen, noch war irgend ein sicherer Termin für die Ankunft von Bürgers und Nothjunk festzustellen. Indessen liess Herr Pfeffer mir im Anfang des Juli wieder die Nachricht bringen, dass *“innerhalb 14 Tage”* die Untersuchung geschlossen sein würde; auch diese 14 Tage vergingen und noch verschiedene Male wurde ich auf *“14 Tage”* vertröstet, bis die Untersuchung denjenigen Charakter annahm, der bis zum Ende des Jahres 1852 jede Berechnung und jede Hoffnung auf ein mögliches Ende ausschloss. Endlich—in den letzten Tagen des Juli—kam Bürgers an, gegen die Mitte des August folgte Nothjunk, dem die Spuren seiner dreimonatlichen Haft

schon tief aufgedrückt waren. Kein Wunder! Er hatte diese *drei Monate in Ketten am Boden gelegen*.

Nun konnte die Untersuchung formell zu Ende geführt werden. Ich sage: *formell*; denn der Instruktionsrichter war längst mit sich selbst darüber einig, dass die Anklage auf "Komplott zum Sturze der Staatsregierung" nicht aufrecht erhalten werden konnte. Er war ehrlich genug, das unter der Hand einzugestehen, und ging sogar in Bezug auf mich so weit, Bürgers gegenüber zu erklären, dass nicht einmal meine Mitgliedschaft am "Bunde der Kommunisten" nachgewiesen werden könne.

Ich kann die wesentlichsten Punkte der Anklage, wie die Hauptereignisse und das Resultat des Prozesses als bekannt voraussetzen. Die Journale der ganzen Welt haben sie lange Zeit hindurch besprochen. Die Ansichten und die Parteistellung der Angeklagten sind in ihnen enthalten, sind in dem Anfange dieser Erzählung kurz angedeutet und in den folgenden Worten von Karl Marx ausführlich ausgesprochen :*

"Das bei den Angeklagten vorgefundene 'Manifest der Kommunistenpartei,' vor der Februarrevolution gedruckt, seit Jahren im Buchhandel befindlich, konnte seiner Form und Bestimmung nach nicht das Programm eines 'Komplottes' sein. Die saisirten Ansprachen der Centralbehörde beschäftigten sich ausschliesslich mit dem Verhältniss der Kommunisten zur künftigen Regierung der Demokratie, also nicht mit der Regierung Friedrich Wilhelms IV. Die Statuten endlich waren Statuten

* Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln, 1853.

einer geheimen Propagandagesellschaft, aber der *Code pénal* enthält keine Strafen gegen geheime Gesellschaften. Als letzte Tendenz dieser Propaganda wird die Zertrümmerung der bestehenden Gesellschaft ausgesprochen, aber der preussische Staat ist schon einmal untergegangen und kann noch zehnmal wieder untergehen und definitiv untergehen, ohne dass der bestehenden Gesellschaft auch nur ein Haar ausfällt. Die Kommunisten können den Auflösungsprozess der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft beschleunigen helfen und dennoch der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft die Auflösung des preussischen Staates überlassen. Wessen direkter Zweck es wäre, den preussischen Staat zu stürzen, und wer zu diesem Behufe die Zertrümmerung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft als Mittel lehrte, der gliche jenem verrückten Ingenieur, der die Erde sprengen wollte, um einen Misthaufen aus dem Wege zu räumen.

“Aber wenn das Endziel des Bundes der *Umsturz der Gesellschaft*, so ist sein Mittel nothwendig die *politische Revolution*, und er implizirt den Umsturz des preussischen Staates, wie ein Erdbeben den Umsturz des Hühnerstalls implizirt. Aber die Angeklagten gingen nun einmal von der frevelhaften Ansicht aus, dass die jetzige preussische Regierung auch ohne sie fallen werde. Sie stifteten daher keinen Bund zum Sturz der jetzigen preussischen Regierung, sie machten sich keines ‘hochverrätherischen Komplotts’ schuldig.

“Hat man die ersten Christen je angeklagt, ihr Zweck sei, den ersten besten römischen Winkelpräfecten zu stürzen? Die preussischen Staatsphilosophen von Leibnitz bis Hegel haben an der Absetz-

ung Gottes gearbeitet, und wenn ich Gott absetze, setze ich auch den König von Gottesgnaden ab. Hat man sie aber wegen Attentats auf das Haus Hohenzollern verfolgt?"

Das Protokoll der Sitzung der Centralbehörde des Kommunistenbundes vom 15. September 1850, in welcher die von der Kölner Anklageakte als "Partei Marx" bezeichnete Majorität und die als "Fraktion Willich-Schapper" betitelte Minorität sich trennten, lässt über den prinzipiellen Unterschied beider keinen Zweifel über. Marx sagte damals wörtlich: "An die Stelle der kritischen Anschauung setzt die Minorität eine dogmatische, an die Stelle der materialistischen eine idealistische. Statt der wirklichen Verhältnisse wird ihr der *blosse Wille* zum Triebrad der Revolution. Während wir den Arbeitern sagen: Ihr habt 15, 20, 50 Jahre Bürgerkriege und Völkerkämpfe durchzumachen, nicht nur um die Verhältnisse zu ändern, sondern um Euch selbst zu ändern und zur politischen Herrschaft zu befähigen, sagt Ihr im Gegentheil: 'Wir müssen gleich zur Herrschaft kommen oder wir können uns schlafen legen.' Während wir speziell die deutschen Arbeiter auf die unentwickelte Gestalt des deutschen Proletariats hinweisen, schmeichelt Ihr auf's Plumpste dem Nationalgefühl und dem Standesvorurtheil der deutschen Handwerker, was allerdings populärer ist. Wie von den Demokraten das Wort *Volk* zu einen heiligen Wesen gemacht wird, so von Euch das Wort *Proletariat*. Wie die Demokraten schiebt Ihr der revolutionären Entwicklung die Phrase der Revolution unter."

Die Antwort von Schapper, dass er die hier angefochtene Ansicht ausgesprochen habe, weil er überhaupt in dieser Sache enthusiastisch sei; dass es sich darum handele, ob "wir im Anfange selbst köpfen oder geköpft werden"; dass in Frankreich die Arbeiter "d'ran kommen werden und damit wir in Deutschland"; dass, wäre das nicht, er sich allerdings schlafen legen würde und dann eine andere materielle Stellung haben könne u. s. w.—beweiset, dass ein wirkliches Komplott von Seiten der Kölner Angeklagten eine Unmöglichkeit war. Sie hatten "*zu viel studirt,*" "*zu viel gelernt,*" wie ein spezieller Freund und Meinungsgenosse Schapper's mir vor wenigen Tagen vorwurfsvoll entgegenhielt, um nicht zu wissen, dass eine Revolution nicht aus dem Aermel geschüttelt, dass sie nicht *von beliebigen Persönlichkeiten gemacht wird, sondern dass sie der Schluss einer materiellen Entwicklung ist*; sie hatten "*zu viel gelernt,*" um nicht zu wissen, dass zu jeder historischen Thatsache *die Bedingungen* gegeben sein müssen. Und das ist im entgegengesetzten Fall unbedingt richtig, dass man *zu wenig* "*studirt,*" *zu wenig* "*gelernt*" haben muss, um, wie es in diesen Tagen geschehen ist, zum Beweise dafür, dass die kleinbürgerliche Demokratie in Deutschland keine Zukunft mehr habe, die Behauptung aufzustellen, dass der *tiers état* von 1789 und das Kleinbürgerthum von heute eins und dasselbe sei, und dass, weil jener sich von den Banden des Feudalismus losgerungen, dieses unter keiner Bedingung mehr zur Herrschaft gelangen könne.

Dass die Parteistellung der Kölner Angeklagten

die richtige war, dass sie sich auf Thatsachen und materielle Zustände stützte, dafür liegt der Beweis in den kommunistischen Versuchen, welche hier auf amerikanischem Boden gemacht worden. Dass der Zustand unserer bürgerlichen Verhältnisse einer kommunistischen Einrichtung der Gesellschaft nichts weniger als nahe ist, beweiset die Thatsache, dass solche Verbindungen zu Grunde gegangen sind, sobald einzelne hervorragende, gebietende Persönlichkeiten ausschieden, dass sie immer klein gewesen sind, und dass sie regelmässig gezwungen werden, sich in die Einsamkeit zurückzuziehen und von der menschlichen Gesellschaft, um bürgerlichen Konflikten vorzubeugen, entfernt zu halten. Ich frage ausserdem die Führer der heute noch existirenden kommunistischen Gesellschaften, ob ihre Erfahrung nicht meine Behauptung rechtfertigt, dass *ebenso wenig, wie die Phrase der Revolution die Bedingung einer Revolution ist, ebenso wenig die Phrase "Liebe" und "Brüderlichkeit" ein Band für eine menschliche Gemeinschaft ist, sondern dass es nur das Interesse jedes Einzelnen—ich will hinzufügen: das wohlverstandene Interesse, sein kann.*

In dem Verlaufe der gegen uns geführten Untersuchung lassen sich auf das deutlichste zwei Perioden nachweisen: die eine umfasst diejenige Zeit unserer Vorhaft, in welcher die preussische Regierung wirklich glaubte, dass ohne besondere Mittel, ohne Bestechungen, Diebstähle, Meineide, eine Verurtheilung der Angeklagten in Aussicht stände; die zweite datirt von derjenigen Zeit, seit welcher das Gouvernement zu der Ueberzeugung gelangte, dass

es unmöglich sein werde, den Prozess zum erwünschten Ende, d. h. die Angeklagten in's Zuchthaus, zu bringen. Nichts ist leichter, als diese beiden Zeiträume, deren Uebergang von dem einen zum anderen keine allzu lange Frist umfasst, in dem Gange der "Untersuchung" und in der Art unserer Behandlung nachzuweisen.

Bis zu den ersten Tagen des August behandelte man uns nach den Vorschriften der Hausordnung. Nach der ausdrücklich angegebenen Regel, dass die sich selbst verpflegenden Gefangenen sich mit Lektüre zu beschäftigen hätten, dass die Art der Lektüre frei stehe, und der Direktor der Anstalt nur das Recht habe, Bücher "unsittlichen Inhalts" zurückzuweisen, konnten wir versuchen, unsere Einsamkeit so wenig drückend wie möglich zu machen, obgleich Jeder begreift, dass an wirkliches geistiges Arbeiten in einer Zelle von 6 Fuss Breite und 12 Fuss Länge, die ausser einem Menschen noch für eine Bettstelle, einen Tisch und einen hölzernen Stuhl Raum haben muss, bei der brennendsten Sonnenhitze, nicht zu denken ist. Ein Versuch des Generalprokurators Nicolovius, die Zahl der Jedem zu gewährenden Bücher auf drei zu beschränken, wurde bald umgangen, sein Befehl, da der Instruktionsrichter dergleichen Beschränkungen niemals gut hiess, nicht lange berücksichtigt, und wir behielten sogar noch eine kurze Zeit das Recht, die Kölnische Zeitung zu lesen.

Indessen änderten sich die Verhältnisse sehr bald; man fing an, ohne eine uns bekannte Veranlassung, uns strenger und argwöhnischer zu behandeln, und die Geheimnissthuerei und Wichtigmacherei, hinter

welcher das Gouvernement so häufig die Einleitung zu Gewaltstreichen zu verstecken versucht hat, begann schon damals. Gegen das Ende des Juli machte Herr Polizeidirektor Schulz seine Aufwartung in Köln; ich lehnte sein Begehren, sich abermals mit mir "zu unterhalten," ab; indem ich ihm erklärte, dass ich kein Polizeigefangener sei und an Einem Instruktionsrichter genug habe. Er erklärte, von Bürgers' und Nothjunks Transportirung, auf welche ich mit Verlangen wartete, weil ich glaubte, bald nach ihrer Ankunft in Freiheit gesetzt zu werden, Nichts zu wissen—die That-sache war, dass er soeben von Dresden und Leipzig kam und die Nachricht von Bürgers' Ankunft, die am Tage nachher erfolgte, nach Köln brachte. Wie Herr Schulz überhaupt mit der Wahrheit umsprang, mochte sie wichtige oder unwichtige Dinge betreffen, dafür sprechen unzählige Beispiele. Dass er Briefe unterschlug, welche für uns bestimmt waren, das war ein blosser höchst unschuldiger Diebstahl, der ihm Vergnügen zu machen schien und den er an Bürgers schon in Dresden beging; dass er seit den ersten Tagen meiner Haft für mich ankommende Briefe verheimlichte, auf meine Nachfragen verleugnete, sie indessen, wo er es für gut hielt, zur Anschwellung meiner Akten diesen beifügte, so dass sie während der öffentlichen Verhandlungen mir vorgelegt werden konnten, ohne dass ich sie jemals gesehen hatte—das war wahrscheinlich blos das Verfahren, durch welches ein "Criminalist" seine "Gewandtheit" dokumentirt. Herr Schulz gab mir die wiederholtesten Versicherungen seiner Liberalität und seines "Wohlwollens,"

beklagte sich aber (?) bitter über die Erlaubniss, eine Zeitung zu lesen, und die "Menge" von Büchern, welche uns zu Gebote standen.

Es ist nicht zu vergessen, dass es sich immer nur um eine Untersuchungshaft handelt. Jede Regierung mag das Recht für sich in Anspruch nehmen, sich auf dem herkömmlichen "gesetzlichen" Wege zu sichern. Niemand wird ihr jedoch das Recht zugestehen, den Verdacht dem Beweise gleichzustellen, und der Auferlegung einer Untersuchungshaft die Befriedigung des Rachgefühls—nichts Anderes liegt dem heutigen Begriffe der "Strafe" zu Grunde—als Motiv zu unterbreiten. Soll die Untersuchungshaft ihrem Zwecke entsprechen, selbst nach unseren Gesetzen, so muss sie erstens so kurz wie möglich sein. Denn der später Verurtheilte verfällt *doch* dem Gesetze, und der Loszusprechende soll nicht länger, als dringend nöthig ist, seines Rechtszustandes beraubt sein. Sie muss ferner so wenig drückend wie möglich sein, aus ähnlichen Gründen.

Man schlug in Köln den umgekehrten Weg ein.

Man kam zu der Erkenntniss, dass eine Verurtheilung kaum zu erwarten stand—deshalb verlängerte man die Untersuchungshaft in's Unbestimmte auf Jahre hinaus.

Man verzweifelte daran, die Angeklagten in's Zuchthaus zu bringen, darum bereitete man ihnen ihre Vorhaft so zu, dass Keiner unter ihnen war, der sich nicht glücklich geschätzt hätte, nur im Zuchthause zu sein.

August bis Oktober waren die Uebergangsmonate bis zu vollständiger Rechtslosigkeit. Zunächst ent-

hielt man uns die Zeitung vor. Man kümmerte sich weniger darum, ob wir Beschäftigung bedurften, oder nicht; man liess die für uns im Bureau abgegebenen Bücher Tage lang liegen, ehe man sie uns zustellte; von uns, wie die Hausordnung es vorschrieb, auf einer Schiefertafel niedergeschriebene Briefe liess man halbe Wochen lang unabgeschrieben und unabgesandt. Man durchsuchte häufig, in jener Zeit erst heimlich, unsere Zellen nach Schreibmaterial oder dgl. Der Instruktionsrichter hatte längst erklärt, dass die Beendigung der Untersuchung keine Schwierigkeiten habe, und doch konnte er schon Ende August sagen, dass, wenn er "schon jetzt" der Rathskammer seinen Bericht vorlegte, diese ihn sicher zurückweisen und die Untersuchung von vorne beginnen lassen würde. Einen Grund für diese damals noch eigenthümlich klingende Argumentation, um die Untersuchung noch ein wenig schweben zu lassen, gab er nicht an, versicherte aber auf das Bestimmteste, dass der Prozess noch in den Oktoberassisen zur Verhandlung kommen werde! Der September verging ohne besondere Vorfälle, ausser dass der Regierungspräsident, zu dem wir in gar keinem Verhältnisse standen, sich plötzlich einfallen liess, den Befehl zu geben, dass jeder für uns ankommende Brief zurückgesandt, und uns jede Korrespondenz, selbst mit den nächsten Angehörigen, untersagt würde. Es war noch etwas zu früh zu diesem Schritte; er wurde nach einer Woche widerrufen, um nach kurzer Frist mit mehr Entschiedenheit gethan zu werden.

Im Laufe des September gestand der Instruktionsrichter zu, dass es unmöglich sei, den Prozess

im nächsten Monat zur Verhandlung zu bringen. Indessen litt es nach seiner Meinung gar keinen Zweifel, dass man zum Entgelt für den nothwendig gewordenen Aufschub ausserordentliche Assisen für den November berufen werde.

Am 8. und 9. Oktober hielt er die "Schlussverhöre" ab und vertröstete uns für den Fall, dass unsere Sache für den November noch nicht schlussreif sei, auf ausserordentliche Assisen für den Dezember, welche ganz sicher zu erwarten ständen. Indessen gab er uns den Rath, nicht gerade zu sehr auf ihre Zusammenberufung zu dringen, indem er andeutete, *es sei besser, bis zu den regelmässigen Vierteljahrs-Sitzungen des Januar 1852 zu warten, als sich der Gefahr einer böswilligen und parteiischen Zusammensetzung des Geschworenengerichts auszusetzen.*

Die Rathskammer fand nicht für gut, den Bericht des Instruktionsrichters vor dem 7. November entgegenzunehmen. Sie beseitigte schliesslich die Förmlichkeit sehr rasch, indem sie uns sämmtlich des "Hochverraths" für schuldigerklärte und die Sache dem Anklagesenat überwies.

Der Anklagesenat musste gesetzlich innerhalb 14 Tage entscheiden, also bis zum 21. November. Wir wussten, dass er sich von Zeit zu Zeit versammelte, wussten, dass längst nach der unsrigen geschlossene Sachen vor die Januarsitzungen gewiesen wurden—wir sahen und hörten nichts von der unsrigen.

Nichts desto weniger musste doch endlich einmal irgend eine Entscheidung gegeben werden. Darüber war kein Zweifel mehr, dass kein Thatbestand vorliege, um die Anklage auf Komplott zu rechtfertigen.

tigen; selbst Mitglieder des Anklagesenats hatten sich so ausgesprochen. Eines Abends erhielten daher die Aufseher des Gefängnisses von dem obern Beamten die Nachricht, dass höchst wahrscheinlich schon am nächsten Abend sämmtliche "Demokraten" in Freiheit gesetzt werden würden. Am nächsten Tage, *Ende des Dezember*, gab der Anklagesenat seine Entscheidung dahin ab,

dass kein Thatbestand vorliege, um die Anklage auf Hochverrath zu begründen, dass aber die Angeklagten nicht frei zu lassen seien, sondern dass die Untersuchung von Neuem zu beginnen habe.

Bisher hatten wir gesessen, weil man behauptete, man habe eine Verschwörung *gefunden*; wir mussten weiter sitzen, weil es jetzt galt, eine Verschwörung zu *suchen*.

Bisher waren wir eingesperrt auf die Anklage hin, dass ein Komplott *vorläge*, später wurden wir eingesperrt gehalten, *weil kein* Komplott vorlag. *Einsperrungen auf Spekulation!*

Schon lange vor dieser Zeit hatte die Haft sämmtlicher Angeklagten ihren definitiven Charakter angenommen. Eine kurze Weile wussten wir nicht recht, wem wir untergeben waren, ob dem Instruktionsrichter, oder dem Gefängnisdirektor, oder dem Oberprokurator, oder dem Regierungspräsidenten. Der erstere war unser natürlicher "Vorgesetzter," so lange die Untersuchung in seinen Händen lag; aber Jeder wollte *befehlen* und sich dem Gouvernement *empfehlen*. Dem Gefängnisdirektor wurde zu seiner Freude untersagt, uns Bücher verabfolgen zu lassen, welche nicht vorher dem Instruktionsrichter vorgelegt worden seien; und dem

armen Instruktionsrichter wurde vom Herrn Oberprokurator bald begreiflich gemacht, dass es besser sei, wenn er, der Herr von Seckendorff selber, die Verfügung habe über die Zulassung oder Verweigerung von Büchern für die Gefangenen. So geschah es denn, dass der Herr Oberprokurator zwei bis drei Wochen lang Adam Smith's Nationalökonomie im Hause hatte, um sie nachher in die Kategorie der "Bücher unsittlichen Inhalts" zu bringen, welche die Hausordnung des Kölner Arresthauses verbietet, und sie mir vorzuenthalten. So kam es ferner, dass, wenn nach Wochen langem Warten bei ihm nach wissenschaftlichen Büchern nachgefragt wurde, welche ihm von Angehörigen oder Freunden für uns eingehändigt worden waren, er selbstgefällig grob erklärte, "er habe sie noch nicht durchgelesen."

Ein preussischer Oberprokurator muss physikalische, medizinische, ökonomische Werke "durchlesen," um nachzusehen, ob keine "Unsittlichkeiten" in preussischem Sinne darin enthalten sind. Wenn Alles das unsittlich ist, was antipreussisch ist, so geben wir ihm den Rath, jedes wissenschaftliche Buch zu vertilgen, welches er erreichen kann.

Bisher suchte man noch den Schein zu wahren; bald jedoch fand man das nicht mehr nöthig. Der Oberprokurator entzog sich der Mühe, die für uns bestimmten Bücher anzusehen, "durchzulesen" — *wir erhielten gar keine Bücher mehr*, und diejenigen, welche wir noch in unseren Zellen hatten, holte man uns fort. Besuche, welche die in Köln Sesshaften von Zeit zu Zeit erhielten—Besuche in Gegenwart von zwei bis drei Aufsehern, hinter zwei von einan-

der entfernten Drahtgittern, und höchstens zehn Minuten dauernd—wurden untersagt, die Gegenwart eines liebenden Weibes, eines lächelnden Kindes, einer hoffenden Mutter wären zu viel Gewinn für die Gefangenen gewesen, hätten der Rache der preussischen Regierung zu viel Abbruch gethan, einer Regierung, welche nicht blos den von ihr Gefürchteten und Gehassten verfolgt, einkerkert, plötzlich oder *lieber langsam* tödtet, sondern ihn dadurch zu treffen sucht, dass sie verwundet und trifft, was ihm theuer ist. Sind doch noch nicht lange Monate verflossen, seitdem die preussische Regierung einem persönlichen Freunde des Verfassers dieser Memoiren sein junges Weib im vollsten Sinne des Wortes getödtet, weil sie ihn selber im Augenblicke nicht erreichen konnte, und dadurch endlich ihren Zweck erreicht hat, den bis dahin unbeugsamen Mann zu brechen und mit Nichts, als seinem Schmerz, in die texanischen Einöden zu bannen.

Zum zweiten Male wurde den Gefängnissbehörden untersagt, uns Briefe verabfolgen zu lassen oder Briefe von uns abzusenden. Ein volles Jahr drang kaum eine einzige Nachricht durch die Mauern zu uns. Von Angehörigen oder Freunden sahen und hörten wir nichts, von ihrem Leben oder ihrem Tode wussten wir nichts. Meine Verwandten fragten bei dem Ministerium meinethalben an, sie wurden an die Staatsanwaltschaft zu Köln gewiesen; der Staatsanwalt zu Köln antwortete, dass er sich nicht gemüsstigt sehe zu antworten, und dass ich eben zu sitzen habe, bis ich nicht mehr zu sitzen brauche.

Nach Papierstückchen oder Schreibmaterial

suchte man eifriger, als jemals; aber nicht mehr heimlich, hinter unserem Rücken, sondern öffentlich. Jede Woche erschien mit seinem Schlüsselbunde der "Oberaufseher" in Begleitung eines oder zweier anderer Beamten, um die Zelle, die Bettstücke, Kleider, unsere Körper zu durchsuchen. Hitze oder Kälte, Gesundheit oder Krankheit—das blieb sich Alles gleich; Niemand hat das Recht, krank zu sein, wenn ein preussischer Gefängnisaufseher, ehemaliger Unteroffizier des "herrlichen Kriegsheeres," kommt, um Dich auf den Boden zu stellen, nackt auszuziehen und in möglichster Natürlichkeit, Einfachheit und Schönheit zu untersuchen. Endlich fand man bei Nothjunkt eines Tages einen Achtelbogen weisses Papier—dafür wurde er für 24 Stunden in das "Cachot" gesperrt, ein in der Mauer angebrachtes dunkles Loch von sechs Fuss Länge. Bei Bürgers wurde ein ähnlicher Fund gemacht; man war grossmüthig—man liess ihm die Wahl, 24 Stunden im Cachot zu stecken, oder—24 Stunden zu hungern. Er wählte das—Hungern.

Die Versuche, die gefangenen "Demokraten" zu chikaniren, waren so mannigfaltig, dass sie kaum von einem Einzigem Hirn ausgehen konnten. Für dasjenige, was lokale Wichtigkeit hatte, mussten die Beamten des Gefängnisses sorgen. Unsere gesetzlich vorgeschriebenen Spaziergänge wurden möglichst beschränkt. Im November und Dezember 1851 bin ich innerhalb drei Wochen nicht ein einziges Mal vor der Thür gewesen; der Raum, auf welchem wir uns zu bewegen hatten, wurde immer kleiner. Zu dem Flügel, in welchem wir

gefangen waren, gehörten zwei Höfe, so dass immerhin zwei von uns zu derselben Zeit, streng isolirt voneinander, gehen und beobachtet werden konnten. *Aber* von dem einen aus konnte man in einem benachbarten Hofe die Holzarbeiter *sehen*, ferner konnte man die Fenster des Krankenhauses *sehen*; folglich wurde dieser Hof uns bald untersagt, somit auch die Zeit für jeden von uns kürzer, in der wir die freie Luft geniessen konnten. Aber auch der andere Hof hatte seine Uebel; auf der einen Seite stiess er zu nahe an denjenigen Theil des Hauses, in dem einer oder der andere von uns seine Zelle hatte. Was die Herren fürchteten von einem solchen Umstande, in Gegenwart eines spähenden Aufsehers, innerhalb zweier gewaltigen Ringmauern von 12 und 18 Fuss Höhe und eines doppelten Cordons von Schildwachen, deren Zahl ausdrücklich unsertwegen vermehrt worden war, bei Fenstern, welche kreuz und quer von dicken Eisenstangen verdunkelt wurden—ist nicht recht zu begreifen; sie thaten aber, als dächten sie irgend etwas, und—verboten uns, bis über eine genau markirte Grenze zu gehen.

Unsere Zellen mussten wir sehr häufig vertauschen, aus dem einfachen Grunde, weil man fürchtete, wir möchten mit einem oder dem anderen der Aufseher zu vertraut werden. Dass man jemals bei einer solchen Bewachung, wie man sie über uns verhängte, an die Möglichkeit gedacht hätte, dass wir einen Fluchtversuch machen möchten, ist nicht zu glauben; um so weniger, da unsere Wächter eben so gut, wie wir, darauf rechnen mussten, dass, sobald wir nur die Gelegenheit erlangen würden, unsere Sache öffentlich zu plaidiren,

wir frei werden würden. Nichtsdestoweniger behauptete während der öffentlichen Verhandlungen der Oberprokurator, gedrängt, eine Erklärung wegen der harten Behandlung abzugeben, welche man uns habe zukommen lassen, die Gefangenen, hätten "*einen Fluchtversuch gemacht.*" Wir konnten dagegen nichts anderes thun, als den Polizeinspektor des Gefängnisses bezeugen lassen, dass ihm von dergleichen nie etwas zu Ohren gekommen sei.

Die Partie, welche in der Fürsorge für uns der Oberprokurator übernahm, ist schon bezeichnet worden. Der Regierungspräsident, welcher mit seinem etwas zu voreiligen Versuche, uns "Besuche" und Korrespondenz vorzuenthalten, einmal gescheitert, später sehr erfolgreich durchgedrungen war, glaubte nicht Alles übersehen, nicht für Alles persönlich sorgen, aber auch seinen Unterbeamten nicht Alles anvertrauen zu können. Er schrieb daher an den Herrn von Götze, Direktor des Gefängnisses, er "*solle gegen die Gefangenen den Schein der Härte selbst nicht sparen*"—ein Befehl, der, heimlich geschrieben und übersandt, indessen schon auf dem Bureau des Regierungspräsidenten abgeschrieben und sofort unserem Freunde A. Bermbach zugestellt wurde, auf dessen Zimmer die Polizei nach langen Monaten das für ungekannt gehaltene Aktenstück auffand.

Aber die Feigheit ist gewöhnlich immer noch bedeutender, als die Gemeinheit. Ich beschwerte mich gegen das Ende des Jahres 1851 bei dem Oberprokurator über die ungemessen harte, eben so widersinnige, wie barbarische Behandlung. Er antwortete, *nicht er trage die Schuld daran,*

sondern der Regierungspräsident. Ich wandte mich in ähnlicher Weise an den Regierungspräsidenten und bekam die gleichlautende Antwort: *nicht er trage die Schuld, sondern der Oberprokurator!* Ich wandte mich niemals mehr an die Herren, beklagte mich niemals mehr, erklärte dem Instruktionsrichter, als er den nächsten monatlichen Besuch bei uns abstattete, um, der Form genügend, schüchtern und furchtsam die Frage zu stellen, "ob wir in unserer Sache etwas zu bemerken" hätten, dass ich ihm nicht verwehren könne, sich die Thür öffnen zu lassen und seine offizielle Frage zu stellen, dass er aber keine Antwort von mir erwarten brauche. Er war ehrlich genug, um das stillschweigend in der Ordnung zu finden, aber zu untergeordnet, um irgend etwas für die Beschleunigung des absichtlich verschleppten Prozesses thun zu können.

Am 19. April 1852 kam der Regierungsrath Simon in das Arresthaus, um zu "revidiren," ein grosser, dicker Herr. Direktor und Polizeinspektor des Gefängnisses begleiteten ihn. Er fragte, ob ich "über das Essen zu klagen" hätte. Ich fragte ihn, ob er blos gekommen sei, um über das Essen Klagen entgegenzunehmen. Er erbot sich zu hören, und ich erfuhr schliesslich von ihm, was ich vermuthet hatte, dass hinter den Gefängnisbeamten, hinter dem Oberprokurator und Regierungspräsidenten, noch andere dirigirende Mächte waren, das Polizeipräsidium von Berlin und der Staatsminister—nicht der Justiz, sondern *des Innern*, Herr von Westphalen. Die ganze Stufenleiter des preussischen Beamtenthums in Bewegung und

Thätigkeit, um den Gräuel der Rechtslosigkeit an preussischen Bürgern zu vollenden, deren wahres Verbrechen es ist, Freunde des Volkes und seiner Freiheit und Feinde der volksfeindlichen Regierung zu sein, indessen kein im Strafgesetzbuch vermerktes Verbrechen begangen haben, vermittelt dessen sie könnten bequem dem Zuchtchaus zugeführt werden.

Ich habe schon angeführt, wie vom Oktober 1851 bis zum folgenden Januar für jeden Monat Geschworenensitzungen in Aussicht gestellt wurden. Man bemühte sich gar nicht, zwischen Januar und April 1852 irgend eine Periode bestimmen zu wollen, in der der Prozess zur Verhandlung kommen könne. Das Bezeichnendste war, dass mir der Instruktionsrichter Pfeffer am 14. Februar 1852 erklärte: *“Ich kann Ihnen nicht helfen, ich muss Sie Ihrem Schicksale überlassen.”*

Im April amüsirte man sich damit, uns den 21. Mai als den Tag des Beginnes der öffentlichen Verhandlungen anzugeben. Als der Mai kam, nannte man den 21. Juni. Als der Juni einmal da war, weshalb sollten wir nicht auf die regelmässigen Sitzungen im Juli warten?

Am 28. Juli sollte der Prozess beginnen. Am Abend des 25. erhielten wir den vorausgesehenen Bescheid, der Polizeidirektor Schulz, der als Zeuge auftreten solle, sei krank geworden, *der Prozess müsse daher bis zum Oktober verschoben werden.* Man spielte längst nicht mehr mit Monaten, man spielte mit Quartalen, die sich zu Jahren häuften. Das Geheimniss des Aufschubes war jedoch ein anderes:

Ein gewisser Haupt aus Hamburg, ehemals Mitglied des Kommunistenbundes, war durch seine Angst vermocht worden, Geständnisse abzulegen, und sollte gegen uns in Köln als Zeuge gebraucht werden. Als die Zeit herannahte, verschwand er plötzlich; von seinem Vater hörte man, dass der Sohn nach Brasilien gegangen sei, und dass er, der Vater, *hoffe, niemals wieder etwas von ihm zu hören*. Für diesen Haupt wollte die preussische Regierung einen andern Zeugen haben und wollte im nächsten Vierteljahre einen solchen suchen. Sie bot 1000 Thaler; aber freilich wenn man für zehnfache Meineide nur 1000 Thaler bieten kann, so bedarf man mehr als ein Vierteljahr, um zu suchen. Freilich ist man in Preussen an billige Preise gewöhnt: die preussischen Polizeibeamten thun es umsonst, d. h. für ein Amt. Davon nachher.

Der zweite Grund des Aufschubes war folgender: Nachdem der ernannte Präsident des Geschworenengerichtes, von Visenne, die ungeheueren Aktenmassen durchstudirt hatte, so viel es möglich und nöthig war, erklärte er unter der Hand wohl seine Überzeugung, dass der Prozess nur mit der Freisprechung der Angeklagten endigen könne. Da war die Gefahr dringend. Die Preussen bedurften nicht nur bezahlte falsche Zeugen, Meineide, um zum Ziele zu gelangen, sondern sie mussten einen Präsidenten des Geschworenengerichtes haben, der selbstverständlich alles das war und besass, was man in Preussen mit "1000 Thalern" bezahlt, der aber eben so zufrieden ist mit der allerhöchsten Anerkennung und einem rothen Adlerorden vierter Klasse.

Dem Herrn von Visenne konnte man das Präsidium nicht mehr nehmen, aber man wollte uns den Herrn von Visenne nehmen. Man konnte keinen Präsidenten brauchen, der so unparteiisch zu sein drohte, *wie das Gesetz es vorschreibt*, sondern man musste einen haben, der den Heiligenschein der vom Gesetze beanspruchten Unparteilichkeit zu benutzen verstand, um auf Geschworene und, *wenn möglich* auf's Publikum, eben so mächtig, wie die lange vorbereiteten Fälschungen, falschen Zeugen und Meineide, zu wirken.

Und deshalb warteten wir abermals vom 28. Juli bis zum 4. Oktober.

Die Anklageschrift, mehr als 17 Druckbogen in Folio, ausschliesslich der geschriebenen Specialanklagen gegen Erhard und Lessner, war uns im Juli zugestellt. In der ganzen Zeit war nicht die geringste Veränderung unserer Lage eingetreten. Wir hatten das natürliche Recht, unsere Advokaten zu sprechen; *man liess uns keinen Advokaten sehen zwischen dem Ende des Juli und der Zeit, in welcher die Eröffnung der Assisen nahe war*. Dagegen that man gerade noch zu jener Zeit alles dasjenige, was der Erfindungsgeist nur einzugeben im Stande ist. Die Eisenstangen an den hoch in der Wand angebrachten Fenstern unserer Zelle schienen mit einem Male nicht hinzureichen —man machte noch Drahtgitter, eng, fein, das Hindurchsehen nach oben sogar, in die Wolken und zu den Sternen, verhindernd und schmerzhaft machend. Die dicken, eichenen Thüren und ein Aufseher auf jedem Gange reichten nicht mehr aus —man machte doppelte Thüren vor unsere Zellen,

deren äussere mit einer dicken Matratze gepolstert wurde und nicht einen leisen Ton, selbst von dem häufigen Toben der nicht selten stark angetrunkenen Aufseherschaft, zu uns dringen liess.

Und liess man keine Advokaten zu uns, mit denen wir uns über unsere Angelegenheiten berathen konnten, so nahm man doch den innigsten Theil daran. Kam nicht alle paar Tage der Oberprokurator in das Gefängniss in höchst eigener Person, und zwar gerade in unserer Angelegenheit? Die Sache verhielt sich folgendermassen:

In dem Gefängnisse befand sich ein Kaufmann aus Elberfeld (wenn ich mich nicht irre), Namens Levi Simon, der zu fünf Jahren Zuchthaus verurtheilt wurde, wegen Hehlerei. Er war lange während der Voruntersuchung isolirt gehalten worden, wurde auch isolirt "spazieren" geführt. Den Herrn musste Herr von Seckendorff gewinnen. Die Preussen konnten ihre "1000 Thaler" behalten, Herr Levi oder Simon hätte gern selbst mehr bezahlt, um nur frei zu sein; was Herr von Seckendorff ihm versprach für den Fall, dass er sich willfährig zeigte, wird sich aus dem Folgenden ergeben. Er wurde beauftragt, aus Nothjunk, dessen Zunge man am leichtesten lösen zu können glaubte, in Bezug auf die vorliegende Untersuchung herauszuziehen, was er könne, und es zu berichten, d. h. Herr Oberprokurator wirbt seine Spione unter den "Spitzbuben," welche er selber in's Zuchthaus liefert. Zu dem Ende wird Nothjunk eine Zeit lang regelmässig jeden Tag spazieren geführt, immer in Gesellschaft eines freundlichen, gesprächigen, demokratisirenden Herrn — nach

vielleicht zwei Wochen hört das auf, da Herr S. nicht viel referiren konnte.

Während der öffentlichen Verhandlungen wurden dem Polizeinspektor des Gefängnisses, Herrn Schimoneck, der als Belastungszeuge geladen war, von unserer Seite die Fragen vorgelegt: ob der Oberprokurator von Seckendorff nicht zu wiederholten Malen längere Unterredungen mit dem Gefangenen Levi Simon gehabt habe? Die Antwort war: ja. Ob nicht der Herr L. Simon den Auftrag erhalten habe, Spionendienste zu thun? Der Zeuge behauptete, er wisse nicht, was der Oberprokurator und der Gefangene mit einander gesprochen haben; er sei nicht zugegen gewesen. Auf dem Gesichte des Oberprokurators war indessen zu lesen, wie man aussieht, wenn man auf unerwartete Weise so plötzlich entlarvt wird.

Aber dem Verdienste, was ihm gebührt. Herr von Seckendorff hält, was er verspricht. Es ist Gesetz in Preussen, dass kein Gefangener um Gnade nachsuchen kann, wenn er nicht die Hälfte oder doch eine geraume Zeit seiner Haft hinter sich hat. In Anbetracht seiner verdienstlichen Bemühungen wurden jedoch kurz nach seiner, unter erschwerenden Umständen erfolgten, Verurtheilung dem Herrn Levi Simon drei von seinen fünf Jahren Zuchthausstrafe erlassen.

Beiläufig sei erwähnt, dass ich es für ganz natürlich finde, dass Jeder diejenigen benutzt, welche er am besten kennt, mit denen er am meisten umgeht. Braucht man Spione, so nimmt man sie, wo man sie findet. Herr von Seckendorff findet sie unter den Zuchthäuslern, Ritter Bunsen, ein anderer,

feinerer, aristokratischerer Vertreter des preussischen Staates, braucht englische Kaufleute und Fabrikanten. Ich rede nicht mehr von dem lange gebrauchten Kaufmann Charles Fleury; meine Berichte sind viel neuer. Herr Bunsen erfährt, dass der bekannte Dr. Dronke in einem Bradforder Geschäfte angestellt ist. Flugs wendet sich der preussische Gesandte an eines der bedeutendsten Häuser von Manchester, das ein Filialhaus in Bradford hat, mit der Bitte, ihm doch Aufklärungen zu verschaffen, was denn der Dr. Dronke in Bradford eigentlich treibe, wen er sehe, ob er viel reise u. s. w. Der Herr in Manchester ist schamlos genug, darauf einzugehen, und verlangt Antworten auf jene Fragen von Bradford aus. Der Bradforder hat indessen Charakter genug, sich nicht zum preussischen Spion machen zu lassen, theilt Dr. Dronke die gestellte Zumuthung mit und zeigt ihm den erhaltenen Brief.

Sie haben ihren Lohn dahin: auf der Liste derjenigen, welche am Ordensfeste, am 18. Januar 1853, Sr. Majestät der König allerrhuldreichst mit einer Auszeichnung beschenkt hat, sind unter den neuen Inhabern des *rothen Adler-Ordens vierter Klasse* Herr Oberprokurator von Seckendorff und Herr Staatsprokurator Sandt.

Ein Wort noch über die Belastungszeugen im Dienste der preussischen Regierung. Die Hauptzeugen waren Polizeibeamte, zum Theil dieselben, welche die Untersuchung geleitet oder beeinflusst oder als Spione gedient hatten. Das war aber nicht genug, man bedurfte Civilisten als Zeugen gegen die Angeklagten.

Einer der Hauptbelastungszeugen gegen uns war der ehemalige Artillerielieutenant Hentze aus Berlin, ein Name, dessen Träger seit jener Zeit sich von Tage zu Tage mit immer neuem Fluche beladen hat. Seine Aussagen, die in den Zeitungen zu finden sind, waren falsch von Anfang bis zu Ende; er, der von jeher demokratische Gesinnungen zur Schau getragen, demokratische Sympathien gezeigt hatte, trat auf als erkaufter Zeuge der Regierung. Kurz vor dem Prozess war Hentze nach London geschickt; er benutzte den Vorwand des Besuches der Industrieausstellung. Er diente dort als Spion, er stand nicht nur mit dem preussischen Ministerium überhaupt in Verbindung, er benutzte zu dieser Verbindung die Staatstelegraphen.

Das Geheimniss seines Verrathes ist leicht zu durchschauen. Herr Hentze braucht viel Geld, und so hält sogar die Masse von Geld nicht vor, um welche man *nachweislich* die Köln-Mindner Eisenbahn betrogen hat—man bedarf des Zuschusses der Polizei. Herr Hentze ist ausserdem nicht sehr muthig, nach dem Ausspruch ihm sehr nahe stehender Personen. Nichts ist daher natürlicher, als dass Herr Hentze, von dem Gelde der Polizei gelockt, und von ihr wegen seiner demokratischen Antecedentien in Furcht gesetzt, sich zum Spion, zum falschen Zeugen gebrauchen liess.

Niemand wird das Vorhergehende für unwichtig halten, wenn er das Folgende gelesen hat. Herr Hentze ist für die Geschichte der deutschen Contre-revolution und der Niederlage der republikanischen Partei in Deutschland noch wichtiger geworden, als er es durch den Kommunistenprozess geworden war.

Im März wurden in Berlin und Rostock eine grosse Menge Verhaftungen vorgenommen; Aerzte, Universitätsprofessoren, Advokaten, Arbeiter bilden das Contingent der Gefangenen. Die Anklage lautet natürlich auf: "Hochverrath." Und die Verhaftungen wurden vorgenommen, die Verbindung überhaupt entdeckt—*vermittelt des Herrn Lieutenant Hentze.*

Man scheint, als er von Köln kam, ihm noch immer nicht ganz misstraut zu haben, er wurde noch in jedes Geheimniss gezogen, wie bisher. Dass die Verhaftungen auf Denunziation eines Mitwissenden vorgenommen wurden, stellte sich bei den Verhaftungen und Haussuchungen selbst heraus, bei denen die Polizei nach vorher angefertigten Plänen die verborgenen Waffen u. s. w. auffand. Herr Hentze hat die Pläne angefertigt, Herr Hentze hat den feigen, feilen Verräther gemacht, ihn bezeichnet die öffentliche Stimme in Deutschland als denjenigen, welcher das gränzenloseste Unheil über eine Anzahl von wackern Republikanern, über eine Menge trauernder Familien gebracht hat, und auf ihm ruht der Fluch, den jeder ehrliche, gesinnungsvolle Mensch ausspricht über denjenigen, der *für Geld und aus Feigheit der Verräther und Verderber vertrauender Genossen wird.*

Ich aber habe es für meine Pflicht gehalten, dem Publikum jenen Mann zu denunziren, der sich der Mannheit entäussert und zum preussischen Spion gemacht hat, und es aber- und abermals darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass man nie zu früh und nie zu viel gewarnt werden kann.

Zur ferneren Charakteristik der Aussagen, welche

im Interesse der Anklage gemacht wurden, und der Auswahl, welche die preussische Regierung für ihre Zwecke traf, diene noch das Zeugniß des Kreisphysikus Dr. Canetta zu Köln.

Herr Dr. Canetta ist königlich preussischer Beamter—diese Thatsache löst das Räthsel seines Zeugnisses. Er war berufen, um eidlich zu erklären, dass die Angeklagten keine Beschwerde darüber zu führen hätten, dass ihre Gesundheit durch den Aufenthalt im Gefängnisse gelitten habe, um zu beweisen, dass, wenn die Angeklagten behaupteten, sie seien systematisch zu Grunde gerichtet, im grellsten Gegensatz zu jeder menschlichen Behandlung, ja—und das will viel sagen—im grellsten Widerspruch mit der Hausordnung des Gefängnisses, das nur geschehe, um die Staatsbehörden zu verdächtigen. Herr Dr. Canetta sollte durch sein Zeugniß widerlegen, was alle Welt als Thatsache kannte, und in der That, es scheint, als ob die Regierung im Laufe des achtzehn Monate dauernden Prozesses Nichts habe unterlassen wollen, was zu ihrem Ruin in der öffentlichen Meinung beitragen konnte.

Welchen Einfluss eine Behandlung, wie diejenige, welche wir vorzugsweise im letzten Jahre der Untersuchungshaft zu ertragen hatten, auf unsere Gesundheit ausüben musste, brauche ich nicht mehr auseinander zu setzen. Herr Dr. Canetta war gerufen, einen falschen Eid zu schwören, hatte also seine Aufgabe zu erfüllen; indessen war er gewitzt genug, auf die Forderung des Staatsanwalts nicht so unbedingt und vollständig einzugehen. Nachdem er geschworen hatte, nichts als die Wahrheit und die ganze Wahrheit auszusagen, beantwortete er

die Frage, ob unsere Behandlung den Forderungen unserer Gesundheit entsprochen habe, gar nicht, sondern lies sich in einen Schwall von Worten ein: "Für die Kranken sei Alles geschehen, was nöthig und wünschenswerth gewesen sei."

"Wünschenswerth" war ganz gewiss, auch "nöthig," dass Reiff, der lange Zeit hindurch an acutem Rheumatismus in so hohem Grade litt, dass er kein Glied rühren konnte und gefüttert werden musste, in die Unmöglichkeit versetzt wurde, nur um Hülfe zu rufen, wenn ihm plötzlich etwas zustossen sollte. In der ersten Zeit seiner Krankheit lag er in einer Zelle des untersten Stockwerks, das sich durch seine eisige Kälte auszeichnet und von der in der ganzen Anstalt gebräuchlichen "Luftheizung" nur den unerträglichsten Steinkohlendunst und Rauch aufzuweisen hat. Er verlangte in das Krankenhaus aufgenommen zu werden—ohne Erfolg; dagegen wurde er, ich weiss nicht nach wie viel Zeitverlust, in das dritte Stockwerk gebracht, in welchem ich damals in meiner Zelle neben derjenigen, in welche Reiff gelegt wurde, eingesperrt war. Es war Winter; von 8 Uhr Abends bis 6 Uhr Morgens war kein Aufseher gegenwärtig, ausser der Patrouille von zwei oder drei Menschen, welche nach 10 Uhr und in der Morgenzeit die Runde durch alle Räume und alle Zellen machten, mit lautem Gespräch, Stampfen und Schlüsselklappern, und ausser den Spionen, welche nicht selten, um uns zu beobachten und etwaige Kommunikations-Versuche zu belauschen, auf die einzelnen Gänge postirt wurden. Herr Dr. Canetta ist Arzt, wie man sagt; er musste also wissen, wie leicht bei der Krankheit, an

welcher Reiff darniederlag, rasch tödtliche Zufälle eintreten können, und ebenso, dass, wenn Reiff irgend etwas zusties, er, falls er überhaupt dazu fähig gewesen wäre, vollständig verhindert war, nach der Militärwache unten auf dem Hofe um Hülfe zu rufen. Das war gewiss "nöthig" und "wünschenswerth"; ebenso, dass Reiff nackt in die Hände eines tückischen Bauern gegeben wurde, der von Zeit zu Zeit die vorgeschriebenen Einreibungen machen musste—Alles natürlich bei offener Thür, damit der Aufseher, welcher auch draussen auf dem Gange seinen staatsrettenden Geschäften obzuliegen hatte, bequem darauf achten konnte, dass der todt-kranke Reiff nicht mit seinem zeitweisen Wärter in ein zu vertrauliches Verhältniss trete.

Röser, schwört Herr Canetta, sei "seit längerer Zeit leidend gewesen, seine Aufnahme in das Krankenhaus, aber nicht nöthig für seinen Zustand." Gewiss nicht "nöthig" und noch viel weniger "wünschenswerth!" Viel wünschenswerther war es, dass der seit Jahren und besonders während langer Monate seiner Haft rückenmarkskranke Mann jede Woche ein- oder zweimal vom Bette aufzustehen gezwungen wurde, um in die Mitte der Zelle gestellt, nackt ausgezogen und bis auf's Hemde nach Papier oder Bleistift oder Briefen oder irgend welchen ähnlichen staatsumwälzenden Werkzeugen durchsucht zu werden. Viel wünschenswerther war es, ihm auf seine Bitte, in das Krankenhaus aufgenommen zu werden, zu erklären: "*Man sehe sich nicht veranlasst, für ihn etwas zu thun.*"

Zur Charakterisirung der Aussagen des Herrn

Kreisphysikus Dr. Canetta berühre ich einen Theil seines Zeugnisses, der mich betrifft. Die Kölner Zeitung und nach ihr viele andere berichteten als seine Erklärung Folgendes: "Wenn Jacobi behauptete, einmal vier Tage lang ohne Medizin geblieben zu sein, so sei dies seine eigene Schuld; derselbe habe sich nämlich selbst ein Rezept geschrieben, welches Zeuge nur zum Theil habe billigen können." Der Sachverhalt indessen, wie er bei der öffentlichen Verhandlung zur Sprache kam, und die Auslassung des Herrn Canetta, sind folgende:

Im November und Dezember 1851 wurde ich zum ersten Mal durch Absperrung von der Luft, Mangel an Bewegung, Wechsel von Hitze und Kälte in der Zelle, Zugluft und Steinkohlenrauch nachhaltig unwohl und siech und gebrauchte einige vom Gefängnisarzt, Dr. Canetta, verschriebene Mittel. Im Februar 1852 war ich wieder in einem Zustande, der mich zwang, zu Arzneien meine Zuflucht zu nehmen. Ich war indessen "verstockten" Sinnes genug, um mich weder der medizinischen Bildung, noch dem Charakter Desjenigen anvertrauen zu wollen, welcher der offizielle Kurirer in dem Gefängnisse war, und unverschämt genug, mich auf einen Paragraphen der Hausordnung zu berufen, der ungefähr wörtlich lautet:

"Jeder Gefangene* hat das Recht, auf seine Kosten sich von einem beliebigen Arzte der Stadt behandeln zu lassen, bei dessen Besuchen indessen ein Beamter der Anstalt zugegen sein muss."

* Schon vor unserer Zeit war das verändert in: "Jeder sich selbst verpflegende Gefangene," und in diese Kategorie gehörten wir.

Ich verlangte, von diesem Rechte Gebrauch zu machen—es wurde verweigert; die Antwort auf irgend welches Begehren unsererseits, welches auf die Hausordnung gestützt wurde, war immer die, dass das in unseren Händen befindliche Exemplar der Hausordnung auf eine Stunde fortgeholt, die Paragraphen, auf welche wir uns bezogen, durchstrichen, und dann die korrigirte Auflage uns zurückgestellt wurde. Es ist in jenen Exemplaren kaum Ein Paragraph—ausser etwa demjenigen, welcher die “Disziplinarstrafen” der Reihe nach aufzählt—welcher nicht unserthalben ganz getilgt oder doch verändert wäre. Ich verlangte dann, mir selbst Arzneien aufschreiben zu können. Man hatte nicht Erfindungsgabe oder Geistesgegenwart genug, um unter irgend einem Vorwande die Erlaubniss zu versagen. Ich schrieb also.

Nach zwei Tagen hatte ich die verlangte Arznei noch nicht und fragte den Inspektor, der mir sagte, meine Rezepte bedürften der Ansicht des Hausarztes—der jeden Tag gegenwärtig war—dem sie vorgelegt werden *sollten*. Auf meine Frage, warum das nicht längst geschehen *sei*, und meine Erklärung, dass ich Nichts dawider habe, bekam ich den Bescheid, es solle am folgenden Morgen geschehen. Von der Zeit an fragte ich täglich, täglich sollte es “morgen” geschehen, bis nach 11 Tagen der Arzt erschien, um mir zu erklären, dass er erst eben meine Rezepte gesehen habe, von denen er eines für unnöthig halte.

Um nur etwas zu erhalten, erwiederte ich ihm, dann möge er das andere allein fortschicken, damit ich für meinen Zustand doch endlich etwas thun

könne. An demselben Abend hatte ich die verlangte Arznei. Zwischen dem Verschreiben und der Ankunft der Arzneien konnte niemals ein längerer Zeitraum, als der von 6—7 Stunden liegen, für einen inquirirten "Hochverräther" 11 Tage.

Meine, an den Präsidenten des Gerichtshofes gerichteten, dem Zeugen, Dr. Canetta, vorzulegenden Fragen lauteten wörtlich :

1. *Ob er davon wisse*, dass die Hausordnung des Gefängnisses jedem sich selbst verpflegenden Gefangenen das Recht zustehe, auf *seine Kosten* einen Arzt *zu wählen*, bei dessen Besuchen nur die Beamten der Anstalt zugegen sein müssen ; und

2. Ob er davon wisse, dass, als ich im vergangenen Winter krank gewesen sei, ich 11 Tage auf Arzneien habe warten müssen.

Der Präsident fragte ausdrücklich : "Wissen Sie davon ?" und Herr Dr. Canetta begann, nicht etwa Ja oder Nein zu sagen, wie erwartet wurde, sondern eine lange Auseinandersetzung zu geben. Er war preussischer Beamter genug, um sich mit dem Gouvernement, den Staatsanwälten und Polizisten zu identifiziren, oder bornirt genug, *um wirklich zu glauben*, dass in der obigen Frage, welche mit seiner Person Nichts zu thun hatte, ein Vorwurf gegen ihn enthalten sei. Vorwürfe aber wollte er nicht dulden, er spielte den Piquirten, erklärte, nicht er habe Schuld, sondern *ich selbst* müsse Schuld haben, und antwortete hier, wie auf die Klage von Becker, dass wir selbst während der öffentlichen Verhandlungen isolirt gehalten und dadurch Bewegung in freier Luft unmöglich gemacht oder bis auf höchstens eine Viertelstunde

ausgedehnt werde, und auf dessen Frage, ob der Arzt das für genügend und zuträglich erachten könne, halb dummdreist, halb bissig: “*Der Direktor hat mir erklärt, dass alles Mögliche geschehe.*”

Gewiss, man weiss, dass Alles Mögliche geschah, wenn man sich nur des geheimen vom Regierungspräsidenten Herrn von Müller gegebenen Befehls erinnert, der Direktor solle gegen uns “den Schein der Härte nicht sparen.”

Als Illustration zu meiner Behauptung, dass ich nicht Lust gehabt habe, mich der medizinischen Bildung und dem Charakter des offiziellen Curirers im Kölner Arresthause anzuvertrauen, diene ein Fall, der während des Jahres 1852 sich ereignete und zu den Grauenhaftesten dieser Art gehört, der aber innerhalb der Mauern des Gefängnisses verhallte und nicht der einzige sein wird. In Flügel III des Arresthauses befand sich ein auf drei Monate verurtheilter junger Bauer von 19 Jahren, ein kräftiger, blühender Mensch. Seine kurze Haft war fast zu Ende, als er erkrankte. Er meldet sich bei Dr. Canetta, wird von diesem fortgewiesen: *er sei nicht krank*. Der junge Mann wird von seinem Aufseher am nächsten Morgen wieder vorgeführt, von dem Herrn Doktor indessen wieder fortgejagt mit dem Bemerken, *dass er ihn, wenn er noch einmal komme, wegen Simulation dem Direktor zur Bestrafung anzeigen werde*. Wegen Simulation! Herr Canetta konnte sehr wohl wissen, dass die Hungerdiät, welche er allgemein machte, um Simulation zu verhüten, leichter die Kranken aus dem Lazareth trieb, als demselben Gesunde zuführte. Ich kenne Gefangene, von

denen ich bestimmt weiss, dass sie, um nicht fortwährend vom Hunger gequält zu sein, das "Hospital" (?) verliessen, ohne hergestellt zu sein.

Am dritten Morgen sah der Gefängnisdirektor zufällig den jungen Menschen, der ihm, wie er dem Arzte (?) mittheilte, krank schien.

So ist Dr. Canetta genöthigt, sich zu dem Kranken zu bemühen, der schon nicht mehr aufstehen kann!

Der arme Mensch wird in das Krankenhaus geschleppt—am Nachmittage war er todt!

Die schreckensbleichen Gesichter der Gefangenen aber sagten Jedem, der zu lesen verstand, dass sie fühlten und wussten, nicht blos, dass sie einsam waren und todt für die Gesellschaft, sondern, dass der "Staat der Intelligenz" sie täglich und stündlich in die Hände gewissenloser Mörder liefert.

Der Prozess schloss nach sechswöchentlicher Dauer mit der Verurtheilung von Bürgers, Röser, Nothjunk, Reiff, Dr. Becker, Otto, Lessner. Freigesprochen wurden Dr. Daniels, Dr. Klein, Erhard, ich; jene wurden entlassen, ich blieb im Arresthause, um von dort nach zwei andern Gefängnissen des preussischen Staates, in einer andern Angelegenheit angeklagt und bald darauf verurtheilt, transportirt zu werden.

Die im Kölner Prozess Verurtheilten brachte man nach kurzer Frist getrennt auf die Festungen der östlichen Provinzen, die meisten von ihnen sollen sich in Schlesien befinden. Ueber ihr Schicksal erfährt man Nichts. Wer aber die Erfahrung gemacht hat, in welcher Weise politische Gefangene in den letzten Jahren behandelt worden sind, wer nur die Blätter gelesen hat, deren Schluss ich in

diesen Zeilen bringe, wer ferner daran denkt, durch wie viele Hände ein etwa abgesandter Brief eines Gefangenen gehen und wie viele destillirende Läuterungen er durchmachen muss, der wird im Stande sein, sich ein Urtheil über die Haft der Männer zu bilden, welche für ihre Ueberzeugungen, nachdem sie Jahre lang für dieselben gearbeitet und gerungen haben, heute dulden müssen.

Ich schliesse mit dem Vorstehenden meine Memoiren über einen Prozess, dessen Wichtigkeit für die Geschichte des deutschen Parteilebens schon zu Anfang berührt wurde. Jede Partei, welche endlich sich zu Macht und Herrschaft hinaufgearbeitet hat, ist von jeher in dieselbe Bahn gezwungen worden, auf welche die deutsche Arbeiterpartei in ihren angeklagten und verurtheilten Vertretern gerathen ist. Alle neuen Parteien sind klein, ehe sie gross sind, sie sind viele Male Besiegte, ehe sie Sieger sind ; die Geschichte ihrer Entwicklung bis zu ihrer Herrschaft ist die Geschichte eines langsamen materiellen Wachsens und moralischen Erstarkens während steter Niederlagen ; mit dem zu leistenden aktiven Widerstand wird zugleich die passive Widerstandsfähigkeit des Leidens auf die Probe gestellt. Die Partei der Arbeiter, die Partei der Zukunft, hat alle bestehenden Gewalten gegen sich und wird von allen verfolgt ; die ersten Blätter ihrer Geschichte sind deshalb mit Nichts, als ihrem Unglück, gefüllt. Aber diese Unglücksfälle, diese Niederlagen *sind* eben Geschichte ; Niemand erleidet Niederlagen, der nicht im Kampfe war, und keine Partei ist im Kampfe, ohne Kräfte, ohne Leben zu besitzen.

So zeugt die Niederlage der Arbeiterpartei im Kölner Kommunistenprozess von nichts Anderm, als dass sie existirt und dass sie stark genug ist, um auf dem Kampfplatze erscheinen zu können; der Kölner Prozess wird deshalb in der Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterpartei nicht fehlen; er leitet die Geschichte der Kämpfe ein, welche das Proletariat in Deutschland noch vor sich hat, gibt aber durch seinen Ausgang die Warnung, sich nicht blinden Hoffnungen über einen raschen, übereilten Erfolg zu überlassen, sondern sich vorzubereiten auf zahlreiche Kämpfe und vielleicht—zahlreiche Niederlagen. Die Niederlagen aber werden die Arbeiter nicht einschüchtern, wenn sie sich klar werden darüber, dass die von ihnen bekämpften Gewalten selber manche Niederlagen erfahren haben, ehe sie zur Herrschaft gelangten, und dass hinter ihren eigenen etwaigen Niederlagen der Sieg wartet.

Auf dann und vorwärts!

Meine Behauptungen über den Kölner Kommunistenprozess werden von allen Seiten als richtig anerkannt, sie werden es sogar von denjenigen, welche sich nicht entblöden, auf die Personen derjenigen, um deren Leben und Freiheit es sich handelte, noch heute ihren Geifer zu spritzen und Koth zu werfen. In den letzten Wochen noch hat Jemand sich unterstanden, öffentlich zu behaupten,* die Angeklagten, vorzugsweise also meine verurtheilten Freunde und Genossen, haben, anstatt als Männer der zu ihrer Vernichtung verbündeten Re-

* August Willich in No. 33 der New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung in einem Artikel: "Doktor Karl Marx und seine Enthüllungen."

aktion entgegenzutreten, "um einige Monate längere oder kürzere Gefängnisshaft gefeilscht."

Dass er die Unwahrheit gesagt hat, das weiss die Welt, das wusste der Mann selbst, als er seine Worte niederschrieb. Weshalb er diese wissentliche Unwahrheit schrieb, das wird er wohl am besten wissen.

Wohlan! Nimmt Jemand sich die Freiheit, wissentlich Verläumdungen zu verbreiten, so nehme ich das Recht für mich in Anspruch, sie als das zu bezeichnen, was sie sind, einfach auf die bekannt gewordenen Thatfachen hinzuweisen und das Publikum aufzufordern, Richter zu sein zwischen den gefangenen Vertretern des Volkes, welche—ich wiederhole es—*für ihre Ueberzeugung leiden, nachdem sie für dieselbe gearbeitet haben*, und einem Manne, der sich nicht scheut, Schmähungen auf diejenigen zu häufen, welchen jede Waffe zur Vertheidigung abgeschnitten, ja der auf ihren Namen gemachte Angriff hinter ihren Kerkermauern unbekannt ist. Ich, der natürliche Vertreter der schmählich Verläumdeten, bedarf keiner weiteren Worte.

"Der Pfeil des Schimpfs fliegt auf den Mann zurück,
Der ihn entsendet."

CONCERNING THE NEGLECTED CAUSES
OF INFANT MORTALITY IN THE
CITY OF NEW YORK.*

To the Editor of the Medical Record :

The paper of Dr. Rogers on "Neglected Causes of Infant Mortality in New York," read before the Medical Society of the County of New York, September 14th, has been published in your number of October 1st. The discussion on the same paper, which took place in the same Society in the adjourned stated meeting of October 12th, I find reported in your number of November 16th. Now, Mr. Editor, I take the liberty of addressing you on the same subject, begging your pardon for so doing, inasmuch as I might have had an opportunity of discussing the paper for its merits or faults before the members of the Society. But it so happened that I could not be present at either of those meetings ; and therefore, as my name has been mentioned in connection with the subject, and, moreover, as I take a deep and personal interest in the topic discussed, I ask you to publish a few remarks which, perhaps, may be found available.

Dr. Harris speaks of the paper in anything but a

* With the Rules on the Management of Infants adopted by the Health Department twenty-seven years ago, and published annually with but slight changes.

commendatory manner. He says that "the discourse itself fails to supply the groundwork that is requisite for a proper discussion of the subject. It deals with the most important questions in an *ex-cathedra* style ; it deals largely in denunciations ; and many of its statements are incorrect, its use of statistics is inaccurate, its deductions are unjust, and its arguments, like its style, are calculated to do harm." These are severe imputations, and, if true, every lover of scientific facts and public welfare has to be sorry for the publication of the essay in a scientific journal, and a number of secular papers which I have been told have been supplied with long and elaborate extracts right after the paper had been read before the Society. However, Mr. Editor, I do not mean to blame you for the literal publication of Dr. R.'s paper, no matter whether Dr. Harris is wrong or right. Every one who would undertake to underestimate the importance of your publishing it would certainly be quieted by the vote of thanks to the editor of the *New York Medical Record*, moved by the author of the paper himself.

After the discussion had taken place I was told by good authority that "never a paper was riddled like this." That may be, as far as the discussion went ; still, a large portion of the paper, I find, has not been discussed at all. Thus, if this undiscussed portion is beyond fault and blame, Dr. Rogers may take his share of the blame and still rest on his laurels. Nobody, it appears, touched a number of subjects brought forward by the author, and still they are of a nature to require discussion. Maybe

that they are unimpeachable or that the discussion appeared either useless or untimely in such a connection.

My reason for interfering with the natural death of the paper of Dr. Rogers is partially a personal one ; more, however, am I compelled to address you from a feeling of duty toward the medical public and the County Medical Society. If, as I hope to show, the paper was unworthy of the Society or any member thereof, such a fact ought to be stated and proved ; and if I have been mentioned as the author of (part at least of) the " Rules for the Management of Infants," which Dr. Rogers attempts at ridiculing, I believe I have a right to defend my views. I assume this right for the further reason that Dr. Stone is reported, on page 427, to have, as it were, tried to excuse the existence and publication of those " Rules." I shall try my hand at no excuse, but shall explain and justify.

I should not express my correct opinion if I did not emphasize the fact that I consider Dr. Rogers' lecture on " Neglected Causes of Infant Mortality " a remarkable paper. The pathological effect of heat, the importance or non-importance of malarial effluvia, the efficacy of disinfectants, the sprinkling of streets, a discourse on the proper food for infants and on the " Rules for the Management of Infants," the physiology of infant digestion, the physical history and the theory of the articles and mode of dressing, the comparison of cow's and condensed milk, ventilation, " canards," the Infant Hospital, and grand-jury presentments on private nurseries—all in one paper, read in a single meet-

ing and published, with the publicly voted thanks of the author, in a small part of a single number of the New York *Medical Record*—I must confess that I stand aghast at the historical fact that all these subjects can be discussed in one dictatorial, prophetic, sneering article. If all these themes can be discussed with this peculiar air of an almost religious persuasion, in a single paper, subjects each of which has strained the minds of acute and learned authors for many years, I expect the rest of the sciences and arts (say, astronomy, theology, law, Nicolson pavement, fire escapes, and tubarian pregnancy) thoroughly exhausted in the next to appear. And why not? The doctor spends half an hour in the Infant Hospital and knows it all by heart, while I must confess, Mr. Editor, that after I had spent many an hour, on twelve or fifteen different days in the course of a month, in the same institution, I felt almost unwilling and not thoroughly enabled to write the report required by and promised to the Commissioners of Charities and Correction. The doctor finds in literature the report of an infant perishing while being fed on plain arrowroot, and he concludes that he and Divine Providence in their wisdom ought to prescribe cow's milk. The doctor learns that the Board of Health emphasizes, because it is "the fashion," the pernicious influence of malarial effluvia, and from this fact he "more than suspects" that these aerial causes are overrated by the authorities.

It is my intention, Mr. Editor, to confine my remarks especially to that part of Dr. Rogers' paper which is meant to controvert the rules for the man-

agement of infants. It has been stated publicly that I was the author. Now, most of the nine rules are mine, some of them verbally. It was the intention—mine and that of others—that these rules should be spread on handbills and through the newspapers “among the poor and the working classes,” as directions from the Board of Health. I have good reason to believe that some objection was made to them, not, however, from a scientific point of view ; nevertheless they were spread in the well-known form, through the papers, without my doing anything in the matter, and I know they have done some good. As these rules were not the result of a whim, but of study, experience, and scientific facts, and as every one of them has been attacked and ridiculed by Dr. Rogers on the pretence of their being unscientific and injurious ; as, further, physiology, chemistry, and literature have been pressed into the service of the reviewer, I hold it my sacred duty to explain and to refute. I hold it also my sacred duty to investigate the physiological knowledge of a medical man who sneers at every thing and every fact he has not done or stated. If I shall succeed in proving, as I mean to do in a short review, that Dr. Rogers has stated his imaginations as facts, his wishes as chemistry, and his mistakes as physiology, I think I shall have done my duty and nothing else.

Before applying to my task, Mr. Editor, let me allude to some specimens of Dr. Rogers’ physiology, in order to show the manner of his reasoning and the thoroughness of his views. The doctor speaks, on page 337, of “solar heat as the cause of disease

and death," which "ought to be studied in, first, its relation to our annual infant mortality, and, second, in its destructive effect upon the adult and upon the lower animals," on the latter of which he promises future elucidations. Now, Mr. Editor, I do not see why the effect of a single agent, with mostly well-known qualities, why solar heat should act on different principles in the infant or in the adult or in the brute animal. These qualities can be imagined to show minor differences, according to the bodies acted upon, but their physical effects must necessarily be the same. The doctor states himself that the depression of the vital forces produced by heat is equally applicable to feeble adults as to infants. But let us see how, according to Dr. Rogers, heat destroys the life of our infants: First, by directly depressing their vital forces. Second, by producing harassing and exhausting cutaneous diseases which torture and "poison to death" the already enfeebled frame of "the little sufferer." Third, by its deteriorating effect upon much of the food habitually given to the infant and young child, whether taken from its mother's or other breasts or from the markets. Fourth, by the generation of malarial agents. The latter Dr. Rogers thinks but little of as a cause of death, because it is "the fashion" of the Board of Health and others to exaggerate it. The third may be obviated, I believe, unless the heat of the summer interferes more with the wholesome nature of the food "taken from the mother's breast" than I am aware of, or Dr. Rogers is able to prove. The second sounds more sentimental than scientific, is more apt to touch femi-

nine hearts with the "poisoning to death" the "little sufferers," and the "enfeebled frame," than it will convince the medical reader of the truth of the assertion that children are killed by solar eczema, or strophulus, or any kin form of dermatitis from the same cause. And the first injury and death by "direct depression of the vital forces" reminds me of a certificate of death I had the intense pleasure of seeing a number of years ago, which stated the cause of death in a given case to be "deficiency of life."

Physiological experiments and physical science happen to prove a little more than Dr. Rogers appears to be willing to teach. In a temperature of 104° , animals, unless they are given water and food, will die within two or four hours. Their own temperature would first sink, then rise up to 113° , and death would set in after the symptoms of languor, sleepiness, convulsions, sometimes tetanic, and coma would have made their appearance (Obernier). Such are the symptoms when the high temperature is combined with moisture (Delaroche), the animal temperature being apt to rise beyond the external temperature.

By moderate increase of temperature all organic processes, especially those of the nerves, are stimulated and excited, but, beyond a certain limit, the physiological functions are disturbed. It requires but a few degrees above the normal temperature of the blood to destroy the functions of nerves, muscles, blood corpuscles, and glandular cells, in consequence of partial coagulation of the soluble albuminous substances (myosin and others) contained in

the fluid constituents of the tissues. This occurrence takes place at 104° in fish, at 120° – 122° in mammalia, at 127° in birds.

Such degrees of temperature, however, are not observed under common circumstances. But the *modus operandi* of heat is regulated exclusively by its physical qualities, the principal one of which is expansion—expansion of everything, both inorganic and organic. Expansion of the air we inhale results in the lessened supply of oxygen to the lungs, in the deficient oxygenation of the blood, in retention of carbonic acid and other excrementitious matter, in the getting up of poisonous symptoms, first of an excitant, then of a depressing order. In fact, we observe a number of cases, depending on heat only, which look very much like uræmia. For every one of my professional readers remembers cases of death with no signs of hæmorrhage or inflammation of the brain to be found on the post-mortem table; they are positive proofs of the fact that in many of them the cerebral symptoms are but secondary to the primary disintegration of the blood. Moreover, we do know that in many of such cases of *coup de chaleur* the lungs are the first to be affected.

Expansion of the blood vessels will result in local hyperæmia and in generally retarded and feeble circulation, in œdematous effusion and consecutive paralysis of the muscular tissue.

Expansion of the blood itself and the gases contained in it must interfere with the nutrition of the body as a whole, and of every single organ.

Above 80° of atmospheric temperature the radia-

tion of animal heat from the surface is stopped, the normal and requisite refrigeration of the system does no longer take place from this source, and this prerequisite for normal metamorphosis is gone.

Thus, Mr. Editor, the effects of heat on the animal system might be counted up to some greater length. I might do so from the usual stock of physiological knowledge at the disposal of every fairly informed medical man ; but what I have said will be deemed sufficient to prove that Dr. Rogers might have improved upon his etiological explanations.

To what extent the “ Rules for the Management of Infancy,” if spread amongst the population, could have been beneficial, I must leave to the profession to judge. In my original copy they read as follows—I print them here for comparison with those copied in Dr. Rogers’ paper :

If you nurse your baby :

Do not nurse your baby oftener than every two or three hours.

Do not nurse a baby of more than six months oftener than five times in twenty-four hours.

When thirsty in the meantime, give it cold water; in hot weather mix a teaspoonful of whiskey with a tumblerful of water.

If you cannot nurse your baby :

You cannot bring it up without milk.

But the milk (cow’s milk) must not be given pure, nor with water. *

Boil a teaspoonful of barley, ground in the coffee mill, with a gill of water and a little salt for fifteen minutes, then add half as much boiled milk and a

lump of loaf sugar, and give it lukewarm from a nursing bottle.

Bottle and mouthpiece always to be kept in water when not in use.

Babies of five or six months, half barley water and half boiled milk, with salt and loaf sugar.

Where the bowels are costive, take farina instead of barley flour.

Where they are very costive, take oatmeal gruel, strain it before mixing with milk.

When you have but half enough breast milk, use the same food. Give the food and the breast alternately, so that your milk has time to get fit for your baby to take.

You may give beef tea or beef soup mixed with your barley or farina or gruel to babies of five months and older. When ten or twelve months old, a piece of rare beefsteak every day to suck on.

No child under two years ought to eat from your table.

Summer complaint.

When babies throw off and purge, give nothing to eat and nothing to drink for at least four or six hours. After that you give a few drops of whiskey in a teaspoonful of ice water now and then, but *no more*, until you have seen the doctor.

Stop giving milk at once.

Give no laudanum, no paregoric, no soothing syrups, no teas.

When you see the doctor, trust in him and not in the women. They do not know better than you do yourself.

Thus I do not deserve any credit for the second

“rule,” as appearing in Dr. Rogers’ paper. It is evidently added by some thoughtful mind, and reads as follows: “Use light flannel covering of chest and bowels at all times, and other clothing to suit the change of weather.” Dr. Rogers is indignant at such an advice and flings at it the following “neglected” physiology:

1st. Nature’s means of preventing the overheating of the blood and structures of the body is the evaporation of perspiration from the surface.

2d. Woollen fabrics directly oppose the process of cooling. Therefore they oppose Nature, are unscientific and inhumane.

3d. The true condition of an infant in very hot weather is perfect nudity.

4th. As a compromise it may endure a covering of the lightest *linen* or well-worn *cotton* fabric, which readily becomes moistened by the perspiration, *and thus* by evaporation acts as a cooling wet sheet.

I state at once that his further advice of sponging the children from head to foot in tepid water during the hot season cannot be objected to. It is a fact that such advice has not been given in the “Rules,” which, however, were not meant to contain *all* the rules necessary or available in the management of infants. Nor are the doctor’s rules all-comprehending and thoroughly satisfactory. For I must confess that I should not feel capable of sustaining his order that the child, at all ages, “were allowed an unrestrained run to iced Croton water” as a drink. My criticism would be as long as Dr. R.’s paper if I should attempt at here ventilating this

question, but I may be permitted to ask why the surface, which needs cooling by all means, should be sponged with tepid and the stomach be drowned in ice-cold water.

But we have to deal with "Rule No. 2" and its criticiser. To the doctor's first sentence I take no exception. Those objections, however, which I entertain to the rest will become apparent by the following considerations and their comparison with Dr. Rogers' autodidactic ideas on perspiration, evaporation, flannel, and linen "or" cotton :

The purpose to be obtained by dressing consists in *the regulation of the normal cooling process*, the radiation of heat. This purpose is obtained in cold weather by moderating and equallizing the motion of the atmosphere near the surface of the body, and further by the low conducting property of many of the materials used as wearing apparel. But these are not the only physical conditions which determine the differences of the action and value of our clothing. I allude to the hygroscopic qualities of different articles.

Equal weights of wool, cotton, and linen harbor different quantities of water ; wool more than cotton and twice as much as linen. Moreover, linen allows the water it contains to evaporate much sooner than wool.

Thus the perspiration of the surface is slowly soaked up by flannel, is slowly and uniformly evaporated on the outside of the flannel, and leaves the skin nearly dry. No perspiration collects on the skin ; but little evaporation takes place on the skin itself ; no sudden change in its temperature is ob-

served. Nothing is more dangerous than these sudden changes of the temperature of the surface ; and my professional readers will admit that cases of bronchitis and pneumonia, not to speak of intestinal catarrh, are never more frequent than during the very hottest season. It is not the perspiration which results in sickness, but the rapid refrigeration taking place on the very surface of the skin in consequence of rapid evaporation. Flannel covering the human surface acts like another cutaneous integument for the protection of the original one.

Linen is not so hygroscopic as flannel. It does not soak up and retain, for a slow and uniform evaporation on its own surface, the perspiration of the skin. Moreover, evaporation takes place more rapidly from linen, and therefore it cools more suddenly than flannel or cotton also. For this reason it is worn in summer. It is agreeable and comfortable for the moment, and when you have a good reason for believing in the constancy of the weather and the high temperature and the absence of wind or draught. As soon as, by a sudden change of temperature or by a draught, evaporation will take place on the skin as well as on the linen, the cooling process is too rapid and results in disease. Therefore many people with common sense will compromise between flannel and linen, and select cotton in the hot season, as it modifies the extreme qualities of either. Whoever is subject to copious perspiration will not be satisfied with cotton, but select flannel to cover his surface.

Much of the comfort and advantage obtained by our articles of dressing depend on their permeability

by the atmosphere. Flannel is nearly twice as permeable as linen. Now add to this that this permeability by air is interrupted by soaking the articles in water, and remember the fact that linen is so easily soaked. If you do you find an explanation for the uncomfortable sensation and the unwholesome consequences of a wet linen sheet on your body. It is the same sensation which is felt on rendering the skin impermeable by shellac or india rubber, or noticed even by expert swimmers after they have been in water for hours. Perspiration is checked and congestion to internal organs—lungs, liver, and intestines—commences. The use of the oil-silk jacket, too, in internal diseases appears injudicious, for the moistness of the skin is not the result of increased cutaneous action, but it is due to local condensation and consecutive suppression of perspiration from the impermeability of the covering.

The sudden refrigeration of the wet skin and the wet linen is dangerous because of the sudden diminution of the body's temperature. Pettenkofer has studied the effects of wet feet, with the following result: If you get your woollen stockings wet to the amount of only $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of wool, the amount of heat necessary to dry this small quantity, which must be supplied by the system unless you change your stockings at once, would be sufficient to melt half a pound of ice or to heat half a pound of water from 32° to 212° .

I hope, Mr. Editor, Dr. Rogers will look at his linen or cotton theory with a little less satisfaction than before. At all events, even they differ greatly

in their qualities ; and, further, a fabric which “ becomes readily moistened by the perspiration ” will no longer, “ thus by evaporation,” act as a cooling sheet, nor will flannel henceforth “ check perspiration and directly oppose Nature.”

I have tested Dr. R.’s physiology in some important points, and it has appeared that there was something “ neglected ” in his solar-heat and flannel theories. I have now to turn my attention to some other “ rules,” three of which have attracted the good or ill will of the critic. Now, No. 9 is approved of. The advice given to a mother to send for a doctor in case of necessity evidently strikes him as good and practical, “ as it is just what the parents would do in any case.” I hope the parents will ring the bell of a practitioner with a tolerable stock of physiology.

Rule No. 3 is an abomination in itself. No matter whether that printed on page 339 or the one proposed by me is in question, the doctor is disinclined to obey it, because “ a model mother and estimable lady,” who, not having breast milk enough for the baby, fed her child on Winslow’s soothing syrup instead of additional nourishment, had “ the absurd impression ” that infants ought to wait two hours before taking another meal, and kept the infant hungry until the doctor, who was sent for as Rule No. 9 ordains, told her that the fact of the baby having taken food an hour and a half before had nothing to do with the child’s desires. And thus the child’s “ colic ” was cured at once.

An infant is entitled to a sufficient supply of food. Therefore if breast milk is secreted in insufficient

quantity, artificial food has to be given. If the baby is hungry it will cry, surely. But when the baby does cry it is not always from hunger. To the contrary, the causes of a baby's crying are very numerous, so numerous, indeed, that many an author has thought it worth his while to write elaborate articles on that subject. Nothing is more customary than to mistake every crying spell of an infant for the expression of hunger, and nothing more common than that the mouth of an uneasy, frightened, annoyed, pinched, pin-stuck, rachitical, wet, dirty, sore, or feverish baby is closed with the nipple. Nothing more common than that the thirst of an infant is made the pretext for feeding it, as if an adult who requires water, and asks for it, was satisfied with corned beef or beef tea.

The cases where babies have to wait for their meals too long are certainly the exception; those where they are fed too frequently, the rule. If a mother has not got enough for her baby, if the baby has to go to sleep half-satisfied, it will awake and cry and require the breast, and certainly is entitled to it. But this is altogether wrong, as the supply itself ought to be made satisfactory. It is the more wrong as direct injury will follow the too frequent sucking. Mr. Thomas Ballard has written a book* to present his theory of the cause of the diseases of infants and puerperal women, in which he states that in his opinion a large portion of the diseases

* "A New and Rational Explanation of the Diseases peculiar to Infants and Mothers, with obvious suggestions for their prevention or cure." By Thomas Ballard. London, 1860, pp. 128.

of young infants—viz., affections of the skin (erythema and urticaria from gastro-intestinal disturbance), thrush, nervous disorders of all kinds, and intussusception of the bowels—are due to “fruitless sucking.” One mode of fruitless sucking is the nursing from empty or incompetent mammary glands. And whoever knows that “the excitation of the nerves of taste produces an abundant reflex secretion of gastric juice and also a flow of bile and pancreatic juice in the bowels” (Brown-Séquard), will admit that Dr. Ballard is right in many respects. And, moreover, it is a well-known fact that, the whole alimentary canal being a single and coherent tract, motory efforts of the upper portion give rise to peristaltic action in the lower. Thus the alimentary organs of a baby who, no matter whether to its satisfaction or dissatisfaction, is fed too frequently, will never be at rest, and, no matter whether the consistence and constituents of the food are correct or not, the very existence of increased peristaltic motions gives rise to diarrhœa and consecutive disorders. Thus if there be a child that claims more food than the mother’s breast can afford to give, it will not suffice to give it possession of the nipple to drink from it thin milk and muscular exhaustion, but the indication is to so add artificial nourishment to the natural one that the baby will have enough each time, and after each meal will require a normal time for rest and digestion.

The normal time for rest between meals and for the digestion of a satisfactory meal in a young infant experience shows to be from two to three hours.

Habit may change this to a certain extent. You may prolong the intervals, for instance, in the night, or you may shorten them by compelling the infant to take food whenever it shows any sign of uneasiness. A child may have "colic," not from hunger, as in Dr. Rogers' case, but from flatulence depending upon the incomplete digestion of the too copious food, and scream. It will be fed to stop its crying, and oil is thrown into the fire. Such things are so thoroughly known as, unfortunately, the common rule that I save my readers further remarks on my part. But I insist upon the fact that the "desires" of the infants are generally either no desires or their character is misunderstood; that, more than heat and hunger and changes of temperature together, overfeeding, too frequent feeding, is the cause of the large majority of the digestive and consecutive disorders of infants. I have to stop here, because the further elucidation might fill a volume. Therefore a rule is necessary and ought to exist for timing the intervals in which infants are to be fed, provided the food is normal and in sufficient quantity. A rule may have its exceptions, but it is given for the most possible good of the largest possible number.

It will hardly be denied that irregular feeding is mostly overfeeding; that it may and will result in vomiting, catarrh of stomach and intestines, subsequent congestion and swelling of the mesenteric glands, flatulence, enlargement and hypertrophy of stomach, with all the consequences of impaired digestion; for the rest of the physical and mental functions needs no particular illustra-

tion. But this is not all. If there is danger in irregular feeding and overfeeding (simply because a child has or appears to have the desire) to its physical welfare, there is just as great a danger to its moral development. The time and mode of feeding infants is the first means of their training, their education ; in fact, education has to begin with the first day of life. It is not true that there is plenty of time in later life to commence education, for the groundwork of all our education, all our morals, is habit. The attentive observer, professional or unprofessional, is aware of the facility and rapidity with which bad habits are contracted, and how soon infants will learn how much they can gain by screaming and naughtiness, or whether they can influence their attendants by the expression of their desires or caprices. The preparatory stage of mental actions, the function of the senses, is to a considerable degree developed with the moment of birth, and the old “*nihil est in intellectu quod non antea fuerit in sensu*” requires early attention to the first simple rule—regularity and punctuality in the management of the new-born or young infants in order to develop their “intellect” and morals on a sound basis. I hope, however, to discuss at some other time the question of the necessity of early training and of the beginning of infant education on the very first day of life, in connection with the peculiarly rapid and interesting development of the concourse and centre of the sensory and all other nerves—the brain. My readers will pardon me, therefore, for dropping this subject here and directing their attention to the “delectable” (cf. *Medi-*

cal Record, page 341) physiology displayed in Dr. Rogers' criticism on "Rule No. 4."

A number of questions, commencing with "we wish to know," and followed by "let us see" (p. 340), I shall answer after having examined, in a few words, Dr. Rogers' fitness for the place of criticising apostle of infant diet. "Let us see." Dr. Rogers—who, by the bye, is still clinging to the antiquated theory of Liebig's, of exclusively heat-making and exclusively tissue-building materials, proteinous substances being the first, and amylum amongst the latter—declares "barley to be a vegetable substance very poor in plastic or building material." This is ludicrously wrong, as the doctor might have learned from any text book on organic chemistry or physiology in the hands of a first-course student of medicine. I quote from one: There are (in 1,000 parts):

Albuminous substances: In wheat, 135; barley, 123; rye, 107; oatmeal, 90; Indian corn, 79; rice, 51.

Amylum: In rice, 823; Indian corn, 637; wheat, 569; rye, 555; oatmeal, 503; barley, 483.

Fat: Indian corn, 48; oatmeal, 40; barley, rye, wheat, rice, but little.

Salts (principally phosphates): Barley, 27; oatmeal, 26; wheat, 20; rye, 15; Indian corn, 13; rice, 5.

Potassa is mostly found in wheat, magnesia in wheat and Indian corn, lime in oatmeal and barley, iron in barley, phosphoric acid in barley and wheat. From these figures Professor Moleschott (of Zurich, Switzerland; Turin and Florence, Italy) concludes that amongst all the vegetable substances fit for digestion and assimilation, and the support of the

human organism, none is more so than barley. It is true he had not read Dr. Rogers' assertion, based upon "experience, physiology, and common sense" (p. 340), that "barley is a vegetable substance poor in plastic or building material." From his investigations Professor Moleschott arrives at the conclusion that eleven hundred grammes of barley (thirty-six ounces) are sufficient to sustain a hard-working adult man. I will add at once a very important advantage of barley over the rest of the above-mentioned vegetables, which is this: that it bears the removal of the husk after grinding better than any other. The large proportion of the proteinous substances in wheat and rye is deposited in the inner layer of the husk, which generally is not used (Payen). It is different in barley, where the protein is spread in equal proportion through the whole grain. Thus the husk can be removed, the consistence finer, without diminishing the nutritive value of the constituents. Evidently the results of modern chemistry and "physiology" have now and then confirmed the "experience and common sense" of olden times, for even old Van Swieten (iv., p. 644) speaks of "*potus nutriens dilutus, ut hordei vel avenæ decoctum, tertia parte lactis recentis admixti.*"

"Let us see" further. Dr. Rogers says that "barley contains *dextrin*, a substance which even in the adult is difficult of digestion, and, *a fortiori*, must be so in an infant" (p. 340). And again he emphasizes dextrin as "indigestible." Physiology says, to the contrary, that fresh saliva has the faculty of transforming starch and dextrin into

sugar. The transformation of dextrin into sugar is so rapid, indeed, that hardly any dextrin is ever found unchanged below the duodenum. Moreover, the existence of dextrin, not only of such as is preformed in the food, but also that which is transformed from starch, is both so important and so easily influenced that the facility of stomach digestion greatly depends on it. The experiments of Maurice Schiff, of Florence,* prove that the formation of gastric acid, especially lactic acid, principally devolves on dextrin.

Again, Dr. Rogers assures us that the casein of barley is "insoluble." What this means we are at a loss to understand. For physiology teaches that the cellulose of the casein of the leguminosæ, and of the albuminate of the cerealæ, are rendered soluble by fine grinding and dissolved by cooking, and that both the casein and the albuminate are digested in the gastric juice. In fact, the casein is probably nothing else, according to the investigation of F. Hoppe, but an albuminate of potassa.

Further, Dr. Rogers, speaking of some observations of Guillot's concerning artificial feeding, alludes to substituting "for the milk some farinaceous substance, made fluid by boiling arrowroot, gum arabic, rice, or some similar substance in water." Where the similarity is to be found between arrowroot (*amylum*, mostly) and gum arabic, Dr. Rogers is surely unable to determine. Physiologists know that gum is not absorbed, or in a very small quantity only, and that the lining membrane

* "Leçons sur la Physiologie de la Digestion, faites au Muséum d'Histoire naturelle de Florence." 2 vols., 1868.

of the intestine is simply covered and smoothed by it. But still Dr. Rogers has the naïveté to assure us that Dr. Guillot “was struck with the uniform presence in the bowels of a jelly-like substance. Upon analysis this substance was found to be nearly pure starch.” I confess that I also am “struck” with the novelty of the fact that gum, when introduced into the intestine and analyzed, is recognized as pure starch. It requires an innocent mind, and one not spoiled by chemistry, to believe it.

From the supposed results of Dr. Guillot’s experiments, made on sick children, while Dr. Rogers speaks of the diet of the healthy, he concludes that “it would therefore appear that the infant, whose salivary apparatus and whose teeth are not developed, has neither his gastric, nor duodenal, nor other intestinal glands ready to digest the starchy substances of a farinaceous diet.” From this remark it is evident that Dr. Rogers believes that the reason why amyllum is not digested by the gastric, or duodenal, or intestinal glands—they being not “ready” yet—must be sought for in the tender age. But, as far as I know, these glands have neither in the infant nor in the adult anything to do with the digestion of starch. Physiology sustains me in this opinion. And here again it is the doctor who makes a serious mistake; for it is more than doubtful that anywhere the intestine contributes to the digestion of starchy material. To the contrary, whatever amyllum has not been transformed into sugar by saliva, either in the mouth or in the stomach, is thus changed by the pancreatic juice.

The secretion of the pancreas has three distinct functions :

1. Transmutation of albuminous substances into peptone.
2. Changing fat into an emulsion fit for absorption.
3. Transformation of starch into sugar.

The fact that a writer of Dr. Rogers' experience and knowledge is not acquainted with this fact does not disprove the results of Claude Bernard's and others' experiments. The pancreatic juice is, in fact, much more efficient than saliva ; it digests amylum as well raw as cooked ; and while for an immediate action it requires a temperature of 95°, a lower temperature will not be an impediment to its efficacy. Even the presence of bile and acid gastric juice cannot stop its action.

"The salivary secretion of the child is little or nothing." Which of the two it is—"little" or "nothing"—Dr. Rogers does not say ; but in order to carry his point, he appears to believe "nothing," and reasons accordingly. But the fact is, that it is "none" in very young infants under four months ; the youngest infants in whom saliva has been found being forty-one days old. After that period there is plenty. Thus the pancreas in very young infants, pancreas and salivary glands in infants over four months, perform the function of transforming into dextrin and sugar such amylum as will be introduced, in limited quantities, into the system of an infant. The physiological effect of the saliva, as it is shown in the transmutation of amylum into sugar, is due to a substance—first, I believe, isolated by Cohnheim—called *ptyalin*. It acts rapidly and

on proportionately large masses, like a fermenting agent, not only as long as the mixture is alkaline, but also when it gets slightly acid. Thus its action is not interrupted by the normally acid secretion of the stomach. Ptyalin is found in all the salivary glands of man (not in the parotid of the dog), and it is not decomposed by acting on the substances undergoing digestion, exactly like the rest of fermenting agents.

Thus, there can be no doubt in any unprejudiced mind that a reasonable amount of amyllum will be digested in the salivary and pancreatic secretions of the infant. It requires an unusual straining of logic to deny it, just as it manifests a singular desire for levelling nature, which is so much in the habit of diversifying and multiplying, to look upon barley, arrowroot, rice, gum arabic, and other "farinaceous" substances as similar or equivalent.

In consequence of such a "deep-rooted delusion" (p. 341), Dr. Rogers, in order to present the most forcible aspect of his pleading, relates the case, reported by Routh, of a woman who succeeded in systematically killing her sixth child by feeding it on nothing but "the best arrowroot that could be procured." Neither the physiology of infant digestion nor the "Rules for the Management of Infants" claim any blessings or advantages for unmitigated amyllum poisoning; and the somewhat malicious unction with which the case has been reproduced speaks for (or against) the reasoning of a man in whose good-will I have the courage to believe, and "whose heart is in the case" (p. 344), unpolluted by physiology and chemistry.

Now, Mr. Editor, I believe I have tried your patience long enough; but, for a consolation, I think I have done, at last, with the author of "Neglected Causes of Infant Mortality." I "exonerate our respected friend, however, for his utterances of manifest falsehoods, for he undoubtedly supposed that the sources for his data were reliable" (*v.* Dr. Rogers on p. 343, first column). But I do not exonerate him for contradicting himself on his own ground, and, moreover, committing the same sins for which he blames the Board of Health, and the "Rules." For instance, he protests against such "loose directions" as "a little salt" and "a lump of sugar," and complains at not receiving any instructions how much a little salt to a pint of food would be, or how big "a lump of sugar" must be added. This is all very well. But then a man who has nothing but blame to express and nothing but fault to find, must not, "of course, recognize the appropriate addition of water to the milk of cow, and the addition of a proper amount of sugar, especially the sugar of milk, and of common salt, and of lime or other alkalies." For he exposes himself to retaliation by being questioned about what is the "appropriate addition of water," or the "proper amount of sugar," of "common salt," of "lime," and of "other alkalies," and which alkalies he means. Moreover, the very same writer, who first protests against "loose instructions," and, secondly, has nothing but loose instructions to give, has the ingenuity, or the weakness, to insist upon the "freshest and most natural milk," without any addition or admixture. Nor do I see more consist-

ency in the fact that one and the same writer should absolutely insist upon the Infant Hospital to have milk which not even should be transported, and on the other hand assures us that "no thinking being need be told that the very mixing of the milk is the only true way to secure an average good milk," and that "there certainly never was any material transported into a city of a more desirable character for the food of infants than the Orange County milk and cream supplied by . . . and . . . and . . . and several smaller parties." You will permit me, Mr. Editor, not to copy the names and firms of those business men; they might feel like sending me a Christmas present if I, though involuntarily, gave them "a lift."

If I meant to go on, there would hardly be an end to the list of mistakes, incongruities, and "fallacies" which have slipped into Dr. Rogers' paper. There may be a good many good points in the essay, but Dr. Harris says its *animus* is mischievous; Dr. Castle asserts its facts are misrepresented; and I say its physiology is rather imaginary, its chemistry tolerably antediluvian, and the whole effort "a lamentable failure" (*vide* Rogers, "neglected," etc., *Medical Record*, p. 343).

Finally, Mr. Editor, I beg your pardon for once more addressing you for a special purpose. A criticism is naturally mostly of a negative character. I have tried, though, to alternate my negative expositions and some positive facts, not believing myself justified in trespassing too much, and to no use, upon your space and your readers' time. As I have repeatedly blamed Dr. Rogers' paper for its absolute

barrenness, as far as its scientific value is concerned, I request the privilege of being permitted to lay before your readers, in your next number, such facts and opinions concerning the diet of infants and children as have given rise to part of the "Rules for the Management of Infants."

Yours truly,

A. JACOBI.

NURSERY AND CHILD'S HOSPITAL.

110 WEST 34TH STREET,
NEW YORK, October, 1870.

*Mrs. R. H. Lemist, Secretary Board of Managers,
Nursery and Child's Hospital, N. Y.*

MADAM :

I take the liberty of addressing you, and the Board of Lady Managers of the Nursery and Child's Hospital through you, for the first time during my connection with the Institution (as, in all probability, it will also be the last time I have the honor of urging my claims on your attention for a short while), the more so as I am the oldest member of your visiting staff, and have been connected with the Nursery for little less than a decade.

During this period I have attended to my duties punctually and to the best of my ability. I have, in so doing, looked neither to the right nor the left, expecting others to take care of their departments, as I did of mine. For a long time I have not known whether I made friends or enemies, taking the first as self-understood and not fearing the latter. At all events, I have not made any personal acquaintances amongst the Lady Managers, except that of your first directress. I believe I know the persons of none of the Lady Managers, and there are many of the ladies who have never seen me. Thus, while not understanding why I should have enemies amongst them, I admit that there is no reason why I should have friends or backers.

As, then, I am not known personally to the ladies, I add a few words with regard to my connection with your Institution. In your annual report of 1862 I was mentioned as a welcome addition to your staff, because of my having given especial attention to the study of the diseases of infancy and childhood. The fact is that the place vacated by Dr. Watts was offered me by the gentlemen of the Medical Board, who were just as willing to receive me as I was eager to accept the place. I have filled it since with the personal profit obtained by every careful observer in any public institution, and with the endeavor to let the Institution profit by my former and simultaneous experience and studies.

As far as I am aware, I am, with the exception of my friend and colleague, Prof. G. T. Elliot, M.D., the only one through whom the Nursery and Child's Hospital has had a chance to appear before the scientific public. I have, while serving the Institution, attempted to let the medical public profit by my opportunities. Occasional articles, by myself and by house physicians, in scientific journals, prove that I was aware of my duties to the profession as well as to the Institution. In the eyes of the profession a gentleman connected with a public institution, and not serving the common cause of study and progress, neglects his opportunity to prove his ability for observation and teaching, and for serving the patients entrusted to his care. Thus, also, all over the world, the public institutions crave clinical instruction as a preference, both managers and patients feeling more confidence in the thoroughness of the medical officers and the completeness of in-

dividual observation when the opportunities of teaching are made available. In accordance with this universal custom and want, I have established at your Institution a clinic accessible to the profession and to the students of all the colleges of the city, both male and female, with the result of invariably punctual attendance by the very same persons. I have further given the Institution the benefit of the results of modern science, the attainments of this country and Europe, and have practised what the good men of the profession all over the world admit as valuable, and what I have been teaching, by writing and lecturing, for ten years and more.

Far from seeing anything objectionable in my endeavors as stated above, I deserve credit for whatever I have done in that direction, hoping the profession and the students will pardon me for having done no more. Still, I have been told that the clinic has been a very objectionable feature in the judgment of some Lady Managers. I cannot dispute their aversion, their objection; but as it has been stated that I, or we, harmed the children, had "no pity" on them, I assert here, in my name and in that of my audience, that such statements are utterly false. I have been told, further, and on very good authority, that the principal objection to me, on the part of the Lady Managers, was my "practice": the remedies I used, the treatment I resorted to. I was given to understand that the Managers looked with horror on my therapeutics; it was rumored about town—I have proof for what I say—that my treatment killed the children; so that a

prominent *savant* and practitioner of the city had to ask if Dr. Jacobi did not place the children on a shelf and shoot at them with pistols ?

Those of the ladies who have undertaken to criticise and to condemn the therapeutics of their medical staff must be welcomed to their self-admiration and the smile of educated people. Probably they belong to the small number of those to whom I had occasion to repeatedly speak of the impropriety of distributing crackers and candies in wards crowded with babies and children, sick and well, at improper times, and without direction or advice. If the ladies will allow of any remark, it is this, that those who are so very prone to assume duties not their own and not within their grasp, generally neglect their own. Knowledge renders modest and steady industry honest. Ignorance renders presumptuous and spasmodic activity fickle and restless. If those ladies meant to criticise, they might have asked the opinion of their own medical advisers concerning my competency. They might have learned that the members of the Medical Board of the Nursery are, so far as pathology and therapeutics go, in all probability the superiors of some of the Lady Managers who collect ten-dollar contributions, attend a few monthly meetings, and sell ball tickets once a year.

Your Medical Board can afford to dismiss the cavilling at our therapeutics with a smile, but I have to direct the attention of your Board to a remark which has been repeatedly made in my hearing, that many of the Lady Managers are "homœopathically inclined" and that I was simply the first to

be got rid of. As this is my last word to the Board of Lady Managers, I give the report for what it is worth.

In a clinical lecture delivered on January 15th, 1870, 2:15 P.M., I took occasion to speak of a number of affections frequently found in public institutions such as ours. I stated that diseases were apt to run a more unfavorable course in crowded houses, and in public institutions generally, than in private residences; that diseases of infants in particular were greatly influenced by such places; that lying-in hospitals were the principal breeders of dangerous maladies; that we had been seeing a great many cases of puerperal sickness this winter, that, in fact, almost none of the women confined in the house had escaped sickness; that many of them had been in imminent danger of dying of endometritis and blood poisoning, but that every one of them had been saved by disinfectant treatment; that we owed this happy result, to a great extent, to the indefatigable exertions of the assistant. Dr. Kitchen, and the uterine injections made by him. That a frequent disease amongst infants in lying-in hospitals was erysipelas; that, in fact, many cases of this disease had to be considered as of puerperal origin; and that it was a remarkable fact that all of our cases of erysipelas in infants had occurred in the new and large house, containing the lying-in wards, in spite of better ventilation, etc., while not a single one (except one transferred from that side) occurred in the old house, which was, as I expressed myself, an "abomination" from a sanitary point of view.

That the old house is the very worst refuge for infants, well or sick, is well known to every one of your medical staff, to everybody, in fact, who visited it with anything like attention.

The remarks I made were not at all destined to be kept secret ; they are scientific facts which students ought to learn and physicians to know, and managers to take into consideration. They were stated *sine ira et studio*, without shrinking and without my ever expecting them to give rise to any commotion.

During the following week I received a number of intimations that my lecture had been overheard—every door being open—and reported to higher quarters, and that a great deal of discomfort or discontent had been the result. In fact, it was then already intimated to me that the Lady Managers were absolutely dissatisfied with me and would try everything in their power to get rid of me. On January 20th the house physician handed me a letter directed to me, which reads as follows :

“JANUARY 20TH.

“*To the Attending Physicians :*

“The Managers of the Nursery request that no operation be performed without a consultation with the Board of Physicians.

“MARY A. DU BOIS,

“*First Directress.*”

Written at such a time as this, I could not but suppose that a personal feeling against me individually had dictated it. Very few, and no important, operations had, to my knowledge, ever been

made except by me ; in fact, there was seldom a term of duty of mine without an operation. They seldom took place without the knowledge of my colleagues, and usually after formal consultations. Previous to the time of which I speak there was a little girl in the institution afflicted with hip disease in the third stage, and at the same time with chronic dysentery. The former was fatal in itself unless the diseased bones were exsected ; but I had to wait for an improvement in the second disease. The little girl, however, grew feebler, and in order to give her the slight chances she might have to escape certain death, I performed the operation. A fortnight afterward she died of exhaustion. This case had often been seen by some of my colleagues and been the subject of our conversation, but I had omitted to call a formal consultation.

The above short letter was written a few days after the lecture alluded to. My answer follows below. I may state, at the same time, that in that very week an infant was presented for admission. It was in good health, but had congenital club-foot. When Dr. O'Connor, then house physician, stated that this ailment was no objection to its admission, because "Dr. Jacobi could very easily do that"—the infant was instantly refused admission. My letter was directed to the house physician, by whom Mrs. Du Bois' letter was handed to me, and reads as follows:

DEAR DOCTOR:—I herewith return the enclosed letter, and cannot do anything in the matter. Neither the Lady Managers nor myself can with a stroke of

the pen change the rules of the Institution. Medical matters belong to the Medical Board. Thus this letter ought to be addressed to the Medical Board, if at all. I confess, though, that the Lady Managers have conferred a great honor upon me by addressing their letter to me personally. But you perceive at once that, although I am the oldest member of the attending staff, I cannot impose any duties upon my colleagues or change the laws and rules of the Institution. Please to return the letter to the Lady Managers, with my regards and thanks for their kind favor, or place it at their disposal.

They will probably think of sending it to the secretary of the Board, for the consideration of the Board.

Yours very truly, DR. A. JACOBI.

On January 22d, before my lecture at the Nursery, Dr. Delafield, the President of the Medical Board, called on me, at my residence, with the following statement: The ladies were highly displeased with me. They had been so for a long time, but at present they had very serious accusations against me. It was his duty to ask me about such accusations as the following:

1. I had struck an inmate, a woman, in the Institution.

2. I had performed operations without consultation.

3. I had publicly spoken disparagingly and untruly of the Institution.

4. I had ordered reporters for that afternoon's lecture to take down such remarks as I should utter

to the discredit of the Institution, for the secular press.

My answer was that—

No. 1 was an unmitigated falsehood.

No. 2, I should be guided by the directions of the Medical Board.

No. 3 was untrue. I told Dr. Delafield what I had stated in my previous lecture.

No. 4 was an invention of somebody, but I had been told by the house physician that Mrs. Du Bois, the directress of the Institution, had spoken of engaging reporters for my next lecture, for the purpose of learning literally what I should say, and that I should have no objection to such a proceeding of hers, because it was evident that she had nothing against me but misconstrued or malicious reports.

At the same time I communicated to the doctor the fact that, to my certain knowledge, a few of the ladies, particularly Mrs. Du Bois, and a few others, unknown to me personally, who were pointed out as my special enemies, went about amongst the inmates of the Institution inquiring of the women what complaints, accusations, etc., they had to express against Dr. Jacobi.

I also communicated to the doctor the fact that Mrs. Du Bois, the first directress, had been very anxious to learn the reasons of my resignation of the chair of diseases of children in the University the previous year, and whether that resignation had not been compulsory, etc.

All these communications of mine appeared to surprise the President of the Medical Board. But the remarks he made concerning the proceeding of

the ladies I omit to repeat, as not absolutely necessary to the elucidation of the further history.

That very afternoon, while I was lecturing, Mrs. Du Bois and two other Lady Managers appeared on the gallery of the school room in which my audience was assembled. After I had finished I related the above facts, and repeated my remarks of last week. On my questioning the audience, in presence of the ladies seated on the gallery, whether these, and these alone, were my remarks of last week, the ladies and gentlemen answered affirmatively and emphatically that they were.

A few minutes before the meeting of the Medical Board, held at the residence of the President of the Board, on the 31st of January, 1870, the President, Dr. Delafield, showed me the following letter:

DR. J. J. HULL, *Secretary of Board of Physicians of Nursery and Child's Hospital.*

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of Nursery and Child's Hospital, held at the Institution, January 27th, 1870, the following resolution was passed:

“In the judgment of those who have the welfare of the Institution at heart, it would be expedient to make a change in the Medical Board. Therefore the Board of Physicians are respectfully requested to make such arrangements as to carry out the unanimous desire of the ladies, that the position now occupied by Dr. Jacobi shall be vacated, and filled by the Medical Board at the time of the annual meeting.”

By order of the Board of Managers of Nursery and Child's Hospital,

R. H. LEMIST, *Secretary*.

NEW YORK, January 28th, 1870.

Dr. Delafield asked me if I should not prefer to resign, as the enmity of the ladies was uncontrollable; that it was true they could not remove me with the present constitution of the Nursery and Child's Hospital, but that they had the power of altering the constitution; that, if I refused to resign, they would certainly alter that constitution, and, after so doing, in appointing a medical staff would surely drop me. If I meant to resign, he would not lay the letter before the Board at all.

My answer was: That the letter was to be presented to the Medical Board. That I wanted the Board to take notice of the fact that not a single reason was given by the ladies for their desire to dispose of me in that summary manner in remuneration of my services of eight years, nor for the accusations and slanders spread amongst the public by members of the Board. That I should not resign, in order to compel the Lady Managers to come forward with their accusations so that I could meet them face to face, and that I could not but consider this proceeding as unjustifiably wrong and childish: first, in trying to harm and punish me without stating a cause; second, in having such a low opinion of the Medical Board as to express such a request without giving any reason for it. Finally, that I was not in the habit of getting frightened at ill will, malice, and wanton persecution.

The letter was therefore read to the Medical Board, and it was resolved, on motion of Dr. Reynolds:

“That the Lady Managers of the Nursery and Child's Hospital be respectfully requested to transmit to the Medical Board any accusations they may have against Dr. Jacobi, as they would be unable to take any action in the premises until such accusations were made.”

This resolution was carried; but afterward, with my approval, replaced by the following:

“That the secretary be requested to notify the Board of Managers that Dr. Elliot was appointed a committee of conference in the matter, and that they are respectfully requested to notify Dr. Elliot where he could meet with a committee of the Board of Managers.”

In the opinion of the other members of the Medical Board, Dr. Elliot was to see the ladies, or a committee of them, for the purpose of inquiry and conciliation. As I was the implicated party, I did not object to whatever course my colleagues saw fit to take; under other circumstances, in the interest of a colleague and the dignity of the Medical Board, I should have acted differently. I should have answered that letter of the Board of Managers in this spirit: that it was unfair to be plaintiff and judge in one person, to condemn and punish without stating the offence, or without giving the accused party a chance to justify himself; that therefore the manner in which some of the ladies meant to deal with a member of the medical staff, who had served them eight years punctually, successfully, and gratuitous-

ly, was, at least, inconsiderate and ungrateful ; that the letter addressed to the Medical Board, requesting removal without cause, was an insult, and that the dignity of the Board would not allow one of their members to be so treated ; and that the threat to change the constitution and appoint the Medical Board from year to year was an insult to which no respectable physician would submit.

Thus I should have answered if I could have been anything but a passive listener ; the more so as all those facts enumerated above were before me and my colleagues. But there were more. About that very time it got known that some of the ladies were very busy about town spreading reports which they meant to be damaging to my reputation as a physician and a gentleman. Mrs. L. said my treatment was an outrage ; others stated that I beat the women or one woman ; others, I blasphemed Providence ; others, I used low and coarse language, which I will not state here, but which, I am told, was frequently repeated by the "ladies."

At the same time let me state that all my endeavors to get at the cause of the trouble, at direct accusations, were always baffled by silence. My colleagues, as well as myself, tried to get some positive answer to our inquiries. The answer was always that my guilt was positive, but that out of kindness, and out of regard to my feelings, they preferred to keep silent, at least to us, while the public was entertained with the raciest remarks of these "ladies." I am almost sorry they had selected a *gentleman* as the subject of their persecution. As it was, I heard a great many things and took the

necessary notes ; but when I stated I should make the necessary use of these communications, I was advised that I must not, as they had been confidential. Thus I have, until the present time, been deprived even of the protection the law gives against malicious slander. I should have desired those ladies to attempt to verify the vile remarks peddled about town, and at the same time compelled them, before a court of justice, to swear to the manner in which they obtained their information, going about the wards of the Nursery to coax smutty stories out of women with whom, if it were not for the purpose of vilifying a hated member of the staff, they would have disdained to have been found in any intimate connection, and to make them testify that they did not, perhaps, as much as know me personally. As matters stood I was condemned to silence.

The only person connected with the Institution who has at one time given me a straightforward answer to my inquiries has been Mrs. Polman. I give her credit for that much, the more readily as I cannot say anything else in her favor. I believe her the wrong person in her place. She has done the Institution a great deal of harm by meddling with other people's business, by interfering with the physicians, countermanding orders, making diagnoses in the wards, calling an attending physician a "youngster" publicly, exerting an undue influence over the managers, by doing as much as she could to render the Institution unpopular. Mrs. Polman has admitted to me that there was a report that I struck a woman. Finally the testimony

was that "Dr. Jacobi was so excited he *almost* struck her." The woman alluded to had a child suffering from croup. To give the baby what little chance of life there might be, I proposed tracheotomy and was refused. I urged strenuously and was refused. "Dr. Jacobi got so excited he *almost* struck her." I ask the ladies, have they seen a child getting strangled with membranous croup, and can they understand the "excitement" of a physician who is refused the only possibility of saving its life? I hope and trust they can.

Or do you find it so outrageous that I said to the house physician, "You see, doctor, how easy it is to have children and how difficult to save one!"

And *must* I repeat here, in the hearing of ladies who have not forgotten to blush, what some of the Board of Managers and the matron of the Nursery have stated more than once? The woman said: "I do not want my child killed by an operation."

The doctor said: "Never you mind; you can . . ."

I beg the pardon of the Lady Secretary to whom I have to make this statement, and those ladies also who never heard it and never repeated it.

Another person, under similar circumstances, did not consent to the operation which was held out to her as the last possible chance for her baby, for the alleged reason that "its father did not do anything for the child, took no trouble—why should she? She would rather see it in the hands of Providence." Must I tell the ladies of the bewilderment and anger of the physician who comes in contact with such brutality? But it was the doctor who "blasphemed Providence."

And surely it was not worth while to inquire into the truthfulness of malicious inventions. They were a commodious handle to the whip to be applied. Mrs. P., and Mrs. D., and the highly Christian-like Mrs. A. whom I have never seen, but who is described as my indefatigable *persecutrix*, wanted to get rid of me, that is all.

“Regard for Dr. Jacobi’s feelings” and “kindness” were the causes why slander went about town and I was refused an honest answer to my questions.

Permit me, please, to continue my narrative.

The remarks made by members of the Medical Board, and by members of the profession who got informed of the facts, were not very complimentary to the ladies. As far as the Board was concerned, I should have liked to hear a publicly spoken word instead of “confidential” remarks. With some of these I could not agree, for I so little believe in differences of color, country, or sex, as the measurements of rights or abilities, as to have sacrificed a part of my life in the interest of my principles.

Therefore I could not agree with those who declared they would “not serve under a board of women,” etc., that “women would not be guided by the merits of a case, nor by facts, but by their momentary and personal feelings,” etc. If the Board of Managers had been men, I should certainly not have acted differently from what I did; although I admit that a body of men would be likely to try a case before judging it, and certainly not be influenced blindly by the insinuation of a

subordinate or the passion of a director, wilful and not used to any resistance whatsoever.

I had been told that if I refused to resign, the *modus operandi* of the ladies would be to change that article of the constitution which empowers the Medical Board to attend to their own business, fill vacancies, etc. It was stated they would change that article so as to reduce the time of service of the attending physicians *to one year*, and to get enabled, if desirable, to change their medical attendants *ad libitum*.

I felt that no respectable physician would crave a place on such conditions, and the Institution would not be able to ever get anybody but a sycophant or an ignoramus on such terms ; but I knew that the first step in this direction would be made against, and its influence fall upon, my colleagues, for the admission of every one of whom I had voted in the course of half a dozen years, and with whom I was on the terms of good-fellowship. Thus, after considering the matter for a little while, and partly influenced by conversations with one or two of my colleagues, or by friends urging such a course, I authorized Dr. Hull to make a statement to the ladies, which is set forth in the minutes of the meeting of the Medical Board, held at the residence of Dr. Delafield, on March 31st, 1870 : " In the absence of Dr. Elliot, the special committee in the affair between Dr. Jacobi and the Board of Managers, Dr. Hull reported that the trouble has been satisfactorily settled by the promise of Dr. Jacobi to send in his resignation as attending physician some time in the course of the year, the Lady Managers drop-

ping the whole matter. He had notified Dr. Elliot of the fact, and it was accepted by him."

In giving and after having given that promise, I felt serious misgivings, I confess. I knew that the Lady Managers who were strangers to the whole outrage of spreading calumnies, of refusing to state an offence, of coaxing suggested accusations out of the low women in the Institution, of repeating stories invented by a foul imagination and uttered by foul mouths, and those in the public who had been regaled with the *piquant* reports, would be apt to believe that these reports were correct. There is many a member of the profession, mainly those who do not know me, who might believe me ungentlemanly, being under the impression that their informants were either gentlemen or ladies. But my disgust with the whole proceeding was such that I felt as if I could not but lose by keeping up my connection with the Institution, and with those who made it their business to traduce me. Moreover, I felt that my giving way under the pressure of the threat of a change in the constitution would give the Lady Managers, or a few ring-leaders, just the very power which I thought they ought not to possess, if the position of their attending staff was to remain anything like honorable. Further, I felt as if the Medical Board might have upheld my claims to hear the accusations, learn facts, correct mistakes, refute slanders, and convince the slanderers of their guilt before their colleagues in the Board. More, I was slighted by a colleague, a few days after the storm against me broke out, by not being notified of a consultation

to be held at the Institution. I felt offended, naturally, but the excuse tendered by the gentleman publicly has long removed my doubt as to the constant friendliness, if not manliness, of his conduct toward me.

Still, I had given the promise, and meant to keep it.

When I did give it I expressed the hope that, if in a number of months I should inquire for the cause of all the persecution let loose against me, after the ladies who were drawn unwillingly into it would have reconsidered their course, an answer would be given.

Unfortunately, I had no right to inquire of any of the ladies but the first directress, whom I suspected, and still suspect, to be the chief originator, under and with Mrs. Polman and one or two others, of the whole proceedings. Mrs. Polman had made such statements to me as she thought proper, and Mrs. Du Bois, I hoped, would not refuse an answer, if I waited long enough to give her time for deliberation. Accordingly, after a number of months I sent to her address the following letter :

110 WEST 34TH STREET, NEW YORK,
September 10th, 1870.

*Mrs. A. Du Bois, Directress Nursery and Child's
Hospital.*

DEAR MADAM:

I feel obliged, and therefore take the liberty to again allude in a few lines to the unpleasant occurrences of last winter. I have long ago been ac-

quainted with my unpopularity amongst some of the Lady Managers of your Institution, yourself included, although its interests have always been as dear to me as to any member of your medical staff. Still, I do not feel as if I should like to leave the Institution without some palpable reason being assigned for your desire to have my connection with the Nursery severed.

The request of the Board of Managers to remove Dr. Jacobi was not accompanied with any statements of the reasons for such request, and therefore gave rise to a painful surprise amongst all of us who were present at the meeting of the Medical Board.

You are aware that I have declared myself very willing to satisfy your earnest desires that I should vacate my position as a member of your medical staff at a suitable time. However, I owe it to myself at present, when I think that a number of months may have healed any sore feeling some few of the Lady Managers may harbor against me, to inquire which have been the actual reasons why such an unprecedented request should have been sent to the Medical Board. As none were stated, as they were, in fact, diligently withheld or refused, as, moreover, this remarkable proceeding was instituted against a member of the profession whom even a yearly report of the managers was glad to count amongst its Medical Board, I think I have good cause now to inquire after some explanation of the remarkable manner, unheard of in any public institution, by which I was to be forced to leave the Nursery. I prefer this direct inquiry to subterfuges and clandestine machinations.

I do not hesitate to presume that you will honor this request of mine with just such a direct and straightforward answer.

Yours very respectfully, A. JACOBI, M.D.

The answer I received read as follows:

WEST NEW BRIGHTON, L. I.,
September 15th, 1870.

DEAR SIR:

I received your note last evening. A fair for the benefit of our church at present occupies every moment. I will reply to your letter in a friendly and "straightforward" manner if you will consider it a confidential communication, otherwise I must make your note an official one and lay it before our Board at its next meeting. I much prefer the former course from motives of kindness and regard to your feelings.

Please let me hear from you on receipt of this.

Yours truly,

MARY A. DU BOIS,
West New Brighton.

A. Jacobi, M.D.

Let us consider.

After I have served eight years, a request is sent to the Board of Physicians to vacate my place. No reasons are given.

The question after such reasons is asked by me. No answer.

The Medical Board asks for reasons. No answer.

The only answer is, that no answer will be forthcoming out of regard for Dr. Jacobi, out of kind

feeling for Dr. Jacobi, the same Dr. Jacobi who is so very anxious to hear the points of accusation.

Meanwhile slander is rife, whisper is busy. Calumnies, such as Mrs. Polman communicated to me, based on inventions and the high pressure exercised upon the females in the Institution, who feel greatly exalted at the inquisitive friendliness and the coaxing suavity of their lady superiors; accusations such as in every court of justice would be acknowledged as libel, are carried about town. The only one who is not allowed to hear them, unless "confidentially," is myself.

I wait patiently all summer. I ask again in a polite manner for information.

Again the answer is from the directress of the Institution in and against which I have been reported as sinning; that she will speak out confidentially. If I do not promise to consider the communication as confidential—that is, if I do not promise to pocket every insult she will pour down upon me, in silence and without defence—she will not speak, but lay my request before the Board.

Now I ask the Board of Ladies: *Did they ever learn I wanted to know the accusations raised against me? Were they ever told that I was constantly refused an answer?*

I have no dealings with Mrs. Du Bois personally. I do not require her regards nor her kind feelings. I want justice to myself, and the Board of Ladies who, to judge from the words of the last letter of Mrs. Du Bois, have never known what was going on. I have applied to Mrs. Du Bois because I knew of no better way to apply to the Board. If Mrs. Du

Bois promises or threatens to lay my letter before the Board, for an answer to be given, it is just what I have been waiting for all the time. I believe I know now *that Mrs. Du Bois and a few of her colleagues have acted without the knowledge, and therefore without the approval, of the Board in the whole matter.*

If such is the case, you have another proof of the danger of absence of control, the curse of monarchy, and the blessing, in spite of many inconveniences, of rotation in office. I do not desire any of Mrs. Du Bois' confidence. She has, in her letter, promised to lay the matter before the Board, and I shall insist upon its being done. And the ladies will pardon me for giving them the trouble of attending to a business which, it appears, a few have taken the liberty of deciding in their own way. But I owe it to myself to say that I cannot feel satisfied with another attempt, like that in Mrs. Du Bois' letter, at waiving a direct answer, and that I take that very letter, that very offer of her confidence and kind regard for my feelings, as just as many insults. In order not to be misunderstood again, and to give the ladies a chance to fully speak their minds, and, if they choose, to let me hear what they have to say, and this time not "confidentially," I take back my promise, given in good faith, but shaken by Mrs. Du Bois' evading letter, my promise to send in my resignation in the course of this year.

Any conclusion the ladies will arrive at, after mature deliberation, will be welcome to me.

I shall see that every Lady Manager will be sup-

plied with a copy of this letter. I shall also make it known to every one of my colleagues in the Institution. Further it will not go, unless I am compelled to give it further publicity.

Let the ladies not believe that I think for a moment of the possibility of my continuing any connection with the Institution. That is out of the question. But I want no more secrecy, subterfuge, or machination. I want to see the enemy who meant to stab me from the dark.

Afterward, when my place will be vacated by some means or other, the question of *its* being filled again can easily be settled. Long before my resignation could be expected, Mrs. Du Bois has stated, as early as half a year ago, that a great many applications for my place had come in, and that a certain medical man had a large number of recommendations for that purpose.

It appears that the honorable silence which was to be kept about the matter has not been well preserved. At all events, I have good reason to consider such action as bad faith. I make use of the strong expression knowingly and intentionally, desiring from all my heart, in the interest of the Institution, that it were not necessary that a stronger term should be applied to some of the actions of the same functionary.

I shall return to that subject.

Meanwhile I beg the ladies to follow me through some statistics.

By authority and order of the Commissioners of Charities and Correction, I have written "a report

on the raising and education of abandoned children in Europe, with statistics and general remarks on that subject." It has been published in the minutes of the Commissioners, and republished in pamphlet form for limited circulation amongst medical men and journals, and some of the managers or trustees of a few public institutions. On page 35 I speak of the Nursery and Child's Hospital as follows :

"The *Nursery and Child's Hospital*, New York, under the management of thirty-five estimable ladies of the city, in which the infants are fed half on breast milk, half on well-selected artificial food, a mixture so frequently and advantageously used in private families, exhibits in the latest records the following facts. I take the liberty of adding at once that I make use of limited statistics only, because up to March, 1870, the records have not been well kept. Since that period they have been kept regularly, as I, being one of the medical staff of the Institution, know from personal experience. There have been from March 2d to May 31st 97 admissions ; of them 20 were discharged and 10 died.

"The admitted nurslings were by no means new-born; in fact, very few belong to that category. Eighty of these admitted children had a total age of three hundred and sixty-seven months, averaging 4.5 months for each child at the date of admission. Seventeen of the admitted children were two years and over, up to ten; altogether there is a total number of eighty-four years for 17 children over two years, that is, an average age of five years. Of these 17, being of an age where the rates of mortality are always low, none died. Thus we have 10 deaths in

80 infants with an average age of 4.5 months at the date of admission, within a single quarter of a year. Further, of these 80 infants (from two days to two years old) admitted during these ninety days, 20 were discharged. The shortest stay was one day, the longest sixty-eight days. The total days of these infants in the Institution was three hundred and twenty-four days for 20 inmates—that is, discharges took place, or were taken, in 20 cases out of 80, after an average stay of 16.2 days in the Nursery. Thus there are 10 deaths in 60 children of an average age of 4.5 months at the date of admission, within the three months following their admission. The average age is a little higher, because most of the infants who were discharged were very young and have been counted in the grand total of ages. Now, if we grant that March and one-half of April are unfavorable months, we have to admit that May is favorable to health, that the winter months from December to February are just as untoward as March, and that the heated term of summer is surely still more dangerous. Thus we may safely assume that the rate of general yearly mortality in the Nursery is certainly about the same as in the mentioned quarter of March, April, and May, therefore the mortality through the year would amount to 40 out of the number of 60; or, if we mean to count the infants that got their discharges after sixteen days' stay in the Institution, out of 80 children who were admitted at an average age of 4.5 months. I prefer this latter figure for the following reasons of both justice and charity. The 50 children remaining, having grown a quarter of a year older meanwhile,

would in the second, third, and fourth quarters exhibit a smaller rate of mortality, while those newly admitted would yield the very same mortality we figured above. Thus we can afford to count those 20 discharged ones with the rest. If in future the records will be kept as fairly as in the last few months, we shall have facts instead of estimates.

"Now, then, there are 10 deaths quarterly in 80 children, each one 4.5 months old at the date of admission. Grand total of 50 per cent of deaths yearly of children of 4.5 months and upward to two years.

"The mortality of the infants born alive, from the date of birth to the fifth month, is larger than that of infants between that age and two years. Of 3 infants who die before the termination of their first year, 2 are less than five months old, and 1 is between five and twelve; and of 31 who die before the end of their second year, 26 have not reached the end of the first, and but 5 die between their first and second year. Thus, of the above 50 per cent, 8 would belong to the second year, 42 to the first; and it appears that the mortality of the Nursery, if all of the admitted infants were new-born instead of being 4.5 months, would be so appalling that I am glad I am not required to state its exact figures. The worst figures of the European foundling hells of former centuries are not more fearful than ours; and although being an officer of that Institution myself, and believing that I and all the rest of us have conscientiously tried to do our duties, I cannot but testify and bow down to the truth that, in spite of all the efforts of the medical staff and the pains takings of kind-hearted and self-sacrificing ladies,

the probability of the lives of children entrusted to a public institution is very slim indeed. The younger the children, and the larger the institution, the surer is death. Every story added to an edifice which is meant to be a temple of love is an additional hecatomb of the innocents. Modern civilization, planning for the best, but mistaken about the means, has succeeded in out-heroding Herod.

“The facts are sufficient to justify the abrogation of large institutions designed for the raising of young infants. The facts appear to show, besides, that older children (not a single death occurring in 17 of an average age of five years) bear up easily under the same circumstances that are a source of death to the infants.

“In the same Institution—viz., the Nursery and Child's Hospital—there were 41 births from the first day of January to the last of May. Of the infants, 4 were still-born, 6 died, 23 were discharged, 8 remained in the Institution to first of July. Those remaining in the Institution have all been born in April and May, with a single exception; every one born previous to March 31st having left the Institution or died. The 23 discharged infants were in the Institution six hundred and nine days, each averaging 26.5 days. Those who were born and died in the Institution lived altogether two hundred and seventy-four days, an average life of 45.6 days in the Institution. Those 8 who remained in the Institution on July 1st had lived, *in toto*, three hundred and forty days, an average of 40.25 for each of the 8. Thus their average ages were not yet the average age at which those 6 died, nor were the ages of the dis-

charged 23 much more than one-half of the average ages of those who died. The naked fact is that of 37 infants, counting the discharged and the remaining, 6 died. After the last of these, who died on May 11th, 7 were born; thus, in reality, the 6 deaths occurred in 30 inmates, the large majority of whom were discharged before the average age of the deaths of those who perished. That is a death rate of at least 20, of children born alive, in the course of four and a half months. Many of the new-born infants were nursed by their mothers, at least for some time; when difficulties arise, they are, as a rule, more readily removed in an institution, where there is always some supply of breast milk, than in private families.

“Now, if I add the fact that the women are well kept, the food is good and plenty, medical attendance is efficient, and the whole Institution is under the assiduous management of thirty-five ladies belonging to the best society of New York City, I believe I am justified in concluding that a large institution is the very place a young infant ought to be kept out of. For the poor tenements of our working classes yield better results in their raising of infants than the large institutions the city might be proud of.”

From the tenor of the above extract the ladies will perceive that I knew how to disregard the personal insults heaped upon me. The appalling figures I have recapitulated for you will show what I meant to prove, after having studied an immense literature and spent some months in Europe for no other purpose than to investigate the methods of

raising healthy infants—viz., that large institutions will destroy instead of saving infant life. At the same time I have been very careful not to allude to the personalities, insults, and persecutions to which I have been exposed, and have certainly given no less credit to the ladies. I believe I have given more than they deserve. For their results are fearful. My favorable expressions have ever been repeated in medical journals, and there has been some danger of considering the managers of the Nursery as paragon managers from the very manner in which I have expressed myself concerning their work.

Before going on, I direct the attention of the ladies to an important fact. The desire of doing good, and to have one's doings fully appreciated, is apt to lead to self-love and self-admiration. Moreover, we are apt to believe what we wish. Thus the results of public institutions are generally overestimated by the leaders and their immediate subordinates. It is so on a large scale in great political organizations, on a small scale in little commonwealths or in small institutions. The annual reports of your Institution are an excellent example. Look at your last report, of March 1st, 1870 :

“The whole number of cases of disease treated within the Hospital, from March 1st, 1869, to March 1st, 1870, has been 2,000, not including infants suffering from those slight ailments which last but a day or two. Of this number, 173 have died, 1,740 recovered, and 87 remain now under treatment.”

The same report states that within that same year 371 children were in the Institution. As there

were "2,000 cases of disease, not including slight ailments which last but a day or two," every child in the Institution must have suffered from 5 severe diseases during the year. Almost none of the children is admitted in ill-health. If you will take the trouble of looking over the record of admissions, and the affections, if any there are, with which the infants are brought in, you will find a few cases of sore head, sore mouth, sore eyelids, and nothing else.

But 2 sick children were admitted all summer, 1 of whom died. All of those are ailments of which no child is apt to die. What is left, then, ought to conclude that either that statement is greatly exaggerated—that is, not true—or that the Institution is such as to give a healthy child 5 severe diseases annually, just to prove the efficiency of the management and of the doctors.

The facts, ladies, are just the reverse of the above statement. Medical men like to overdraw the picture of their efficiency sometimes as much as managers. If the ladies will look over the register of "2,000 diseases" which are "not slight ailments," they will find many, many hundreds of nothings filling the pages of the books. There are mustard plasters by the score, every one a great case; and constipation, with the remarkable soap and water injection treatment by the hundreds. A mother who will give her baby an injection once a day for three months, as many a one will do without thinking that she has just performed a wonderful feat worth recording officially and printing in an annual report, cures 91 such diseases as we have on our Nursery registers.

But there is the sad fact staring you in the face that you have admitted 371 children and have buried 173. If you look close you will find besides that amongst these 173 there are very few which belong to the results of the 100 confinements that have taken place in the same year. These are figures, and they do not exaggerate, flatter, or lie. If you will look over the records and see how many of the 371 are over two or three years—a period of lower mortality—you will admit that your mortality amongst the children under two years is nothing you will ever be proud of. And you will no longer believe that “the mortality of the Nursery and Child’s Hospital has been surprisingly small,” and perhaps be unwilling to assume the responsibility of the sentence : “which pleasing fact is due to the general good management and excellent diet of the children” (v. Rep. 1870, page 14).

Again I refer the ladies to the books.

There are from March 1st to October 13th, 204 admissions and 82 deaths. Of these I deduct 10 who had been born in the Institution, but add 16 who died in the Country Hospital at Staten Island. Total, 204 admissions and 88 deaths in the Nursery and Child’s Hospital from March 1st to the middle of October. This mortality inside the Institution is the more fearful, as, out of 101 admissions between June 1st and October 1st, 29 were from two to thirteen years old, while the average age of those 101 admissions was more than twenty months, and as a great many infants are removed from the Institution before they succumb under the “good management and careful diet” of the report. Thus

of the 101 admitted, 27 were removed after they had been in the Institution an average time of but 20.4 days, leaving behind them but 74 of the 101, one-third of whom were over two years of age and beyond the principal ravages of fatal disease. There are from June 1st to September 30th 33 deaths on the records—the Staten Island cases not included. Twenty-seven children were discharged and 29 admitted at the age of from two to thirteen years. Thus you have 49 deaths—*i.e.*, about as many as children under two years had been admitted.

Let me add another fact, which occurred after my term of service, and after the lecture of January, 1870, above alluded to. From January to July, 1870, there were 75 confinements in the Institution, and from February to July there were 6 deaths amongst the confined women. Again no special reason for self-congratulation.

In connection with these facts I feel compelled to attend to a very painful duty. For the information of those ladies who are not well acquainted with the workings of the Nursery and Child's Hospital, I shall first state that during the course of last summer it was ordered that the house physician should no longer prepare the monthly reports for the meetings of the Lady Managers, but that the attending physician was to be entrusted with that duty.

This arrangement is anomalous in itself.

The only person who can attend to that duty is in reality the house physician, who is in possession of the records, and much better posted than any attending physician on the affairs of the Institution.

But it so happened that unpleasant occurrences took place between the several house physicians on one side and the matron and directress on the other ; and I admit that it is not always agreeable to hear the truth at unpleasant times and before the whole audience of Lady Managers. In no public institution is the attending physician the author of the monthly report. He has to rely, if he undertakes to make it, on the statements and records of his house staff.

The first monthly report under the new rule, the attending physician not objecting, was sent in by Dr. Hull. It so happened that Dr. J. J. Hull, as most of the Lady Managers may know, is a son-in-law of Mrs. Du Bois, your first directress. I further understand that Dr. Delafield, the President of the Medical Board, is the brother of your directress. Dr. Hull's report was read before the Board of Managers, September 29th, 1870, duly appreciated, I have been told, and greatly eulogized, and Mrs. Du Bois declared it ought to be published.

It was published in the New York *Evening Express*, and reads as follows, with the accompanying editorial (?) remarks :

“LADIES—I have the honor to submit the following as my report of service during the months of August and September, 1870 :

Number of new cases since August 1st,	238
“ of births.....	15
“ of deaths.....	5
Children under medical treatment Sep- tember 29th, 1870.....	107

The causes of deaths have been :

Pneumonia.....	1
Pneumonia and diarrhœa....	1
Collapse of lung	1
Entero-colitis.....	1
Cholera infantum.	1

Total.....5

“There have been a few cases of scarlet fever, but they have been of a mild type and have made satisfactory recoveries.

“It is extremely gratifying to observe how very small the mortality has been during the months mentioned—indeed, during the entire summer. This is in a measure due to the great assistance we have had from the Country Hospital, to which we have been able to send many of the more delicate children, an inestimable advantage in such a severe summer as we have passed through. Much, however, has also been due to the excellent and improved condition of the city buildings, and to the assiduous attentions of the house staff.

“Very respectfully,

“J. J. HULL,

“*Attending Physician.*

“NEW YORK, Sept. 29th, 1870.

“We have read this report with equal surprise and pleasure, for the general complaints throughout the summer of infant mortality among the rich and prosperous led us to suppose that in an Institution almost entirely of infants, and many taken in when apparently dying, the mortality must have been fearful. But we have observed that every year the

experience and zeal of the managers and physicians of the Nursery and Child's Hospital have materially diminished infant mortality. The success of the Country Hospital, on Staten Island, is assured, and we congratulate those interested in it and wish them Godspeed. The saving of infant life through human agency, under Providence, has indeed been wonderful."

The ladies will perceive at once that the "238 new cases" of the report are of the soap-and-water, mustard-plaster, and castor-oil kind, to which allusion has been made above. All the figures are the house physician's; the accompanying theory, "which ought to be published," is Dr. J. J. Hull's. He says the mortality was small during the entire summer, which is extremely gratifying to observe (from the above figures, certainly). This small mortality is due "to the inestimable advantage proffered by the Country Hospital, to which many of the most delicate children were sent; second, to the improved condition of the city buildings" (when I stated they were deficient, I committed a crime punishable with expulsion); "and third, to the assiduous attentions of the house staff" (whose services are so highly appreciated by the first directress that these gentlemen cannot be trusted any further with writing their monthly reports).

The ladies will certainly believe me when I say that I do not look about for occasions to say disagreeable things and for making enemies. I do not fear having enemies—no good man is without them, and it is derogatory to a man's character and dignity to be without. But still the world is too small for any man to make enemies unnecessarily, al-

though larger and brighter for him who earns enmity for his endeavors to do right than for him who is wrong and found out to be so. My relations with Dr. J. J. Hull have been pleasant enough ; with a pitying sympathy, therefore, I declare before those ladies who have taken Dr. Hull's statements as truth that they are invented for the purpose of being published. Dr. Hull knew that sixteen children died in Staten Island, and concealed the fact from you. That he did so under pressure is clear enough to the mind of whosoever knows anything of the history of the Staten Island Country Hospital, to which everything, the interest of the City Nursery, health, truth, and honor, has been sacrificed. The Staten Island Country Hospital has been the ruin and death of the children sent out there. Look at the books (if they are well kept): sixteen are admitted by the directors to have died there ; they went out well, and died, and those who returned to the city came in poor condition. I state the facts without going into an explanation of the causes. Meanwhile, the city Institution has not even served its original purpose, inasmuch as *directions have been given not to admit small children, because they were more expensive to keep*. Therefore, the *average age* of those admitted from June to September *was twenty months*, against nine months of those admitted in October, or four or five months which has been the average formerly. The Staten Island Grave was so expensive that no funds were left for the City Nursery. Let Mrs. Du Bois deny that if she dare.

The Country Hospital has been a petted plan of Mrs. Du Bois. The fact of country air being prefer-

able to city dust being sufficiently established, she selected the place in Staten Island, amongst other reasons, firstly because she resides on the island ; secondly, because the place was considered by her to be so very cheap. On May 26th, before the meeting of the Board of Lady Managers, she met Dr. Reynolds and me, at her own request, at the Nursery, to induce us to state that it was our positive opinion that the selection of that place in Staten Island was preferable, at the time, to the erection of a quarantine in addition to the city building. The funds in possession of the managers were originally meant to be used for the latter purpose. In the course of the conversation we understood that her intention was firmly settled, that the bargain was closed, and that we were to advise the bargain, and the Lady Managers were to be served with the medical opinion as a further reason for ratifying the doings of their first directress. Under those circumstances we could not but see that our opinion or advice was no longer required : the bargain, however, was closed, and the cheap burying ground for the babies was secured.

This Country Hospital in Staten Island has proved a complete failure, as I have explained above. But Mrs. Du Bois' indomitable will and fruitful resources will not give up. It *must* be a success. No deaths *must* occur ; " apparently dying " children *must* recover ; the managers *must* be satisfied ; *Express must* write laudatory articles ; and, on the strength of such articles, the Albany lobby and Assembly *must* find everything serene, and throw open the treasury of the people of New York State as before, and more than before. Not enough. She *must*

have medical opinions to support her; the position a medical man naturally holds in the eyes of the public entitles him to esteem and his word to belief. The ever-changing house physicians may prove improper or unwilling tools; firm and independent characters are dangerous; avoid therefore the former, and expel the latter. Select such who have a "mild disposition," or are dependent upon you. If you cannot compel, coax; if coaxing be unavailing, use gentle pressure. If truth be insufficient, make them lie. It is not a new saying amongst politicians that words are given to conceal thoughts and truth, and false statements are the covers of wrong actions. It is a humiliating and disgusting fact that a physician should have given his consent to those false, intentionally falsified statements which have been read to you, ladies, and been published over his signature. Neither he nor his mother-in-law will deny the fact of his being aware of the real circumstances. But neither will perhaps acknowledge the fact that their standing with their colleagues is hopelessly ruined, until they are told so in just as many plain words.

The final result will be a favorable one for the Institution. As soon as the power of that strong and reckless mind, whom so many either know too little or fear too much, will be broken, the management of the Nursery will prove more beneficial than heretofore. The immense sums which have been collected for and spent on that "charity" have been wasted on shrouds and coffins. You know, after what I have said, that if you left all those children whom you now admit at heavy expense, in their tenements, hovels, and basements, a larger percent-

age would survive than at present. If a number of influential women like yourself would undertake to work on healthier principles than at present, supported and advised by superior knowledge and experience, less spellbound by the eyes and tongue of a politician who has no regards for the rights of her equals, for the holiness of truth, for the dignity of the humane cause in whose interest she professes to work, who makes false statements and procures false witnesses; if you, or the better part of you, would work in an independent spirit and with the modesty and firmness which result from self-knowledge and good intentions, you would prove a boon to the society in which you live.

I have finished. It was my sole intention to plead my personal cause before those of your Board who are not blinded by insufficient information on the necessary points, or by personal prejudice. I am sorry I had to turn accuser in more than one respect.

Yours very respectfully,

ABRAHAM JACOBI, M.D.

Professor of Diseases of Children in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York; Physician to Nursery and Child's, Infant, Mount Sinai, and German Hospitals, and the Hebrew Orphan Asylum.

Consulting Physician to the Northeastern Dispensary, and Western Dispensary for Women and Children; Member of the American Medical Association, the New York Academy of Medicine, Medical Journal Association and Lyceum of Natural History; Member (late President) of the New York Obstetrical and New York Pathological Societies; President-elect of the Medical Society of the County of New York; Foreign Member of the Obstetrical Society of Berlin and of the Medical Society of Würzburg; and Honorary Member of the New York Medical Forensic, and the Boston, Mass., and the Louisville, Ky., Gynecological Societies.

POSTSCRIPT.

The object of this letter has been somewhat foiled. I have not succeeded in making the ladies speak out, but the Medical Board has done so instead. After they had met "informally," some time before, they held a regular meeting, at which I was present, at the house of Dr. Delafield, on Thursday, November 11th. They stated that I had insulted the ladies and the Medical Board (especially Dr. Hull), that they had "nothing to do with statistics and charges," but that they had come to declare my place vacant, "in the interest of the Institution." Present: Drs. DELAFIELD, BULKLEY, MARKOE, WEIR, HULL, REYNOLDS, ENO, JACOBI.

It was stated that I was malicious and untrue. My statement that Dr. Hull's report was an invention made for obvious purposes, was refuted by the following: "It was not published at the instigation of Mrs. Du Bois, who had even said she thought Dr. Hull would not be pleased with its publication,* but after a motion of Mrs. Anthon's to that effect had been carried unanimously."

I have been declared to be malicious because the gentlemen have found in my letter a statement that the ladies had transferred the duty of making monthly reports from the house physician to the attending. The gentlemen assert they made that change themselves, which looks worse yet.

Other "refutations" of my malicious inventions have not come to my knowledge. Finally, while I stand by the truth of the facts concerning the ladies

* I do not believe he is.—DR. J.

and Dr. Hull which are the cause of my "expulsion," I admit that three dozen "ladies" and their friends can invent more slanders than I can refute.

ABRAHAM JACOBI, M.D.

110 W. 34TH ST., NEW YORK, }
November 18th, 1870. }

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS,

MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

. . . IN the foregoing, gentlemen, I have not confined myself to simply a few introductory remarks. If I were more eloquent, I should have tried to thank you, in more appropriate terms than I shall probably be able to command, for the honor you have conferred upon me in electing me your President for the ensuing year. As it is, I have considered it my duty to contribute something to the scientific ends of the Society, the more so as there are only eight or nine stated meetings during the year designated for that purpose, and for the further reason that you have deemed proper to effectually seal my lips for the next twelve months.

Still, it would be improper not to express the thanks I feel for the honor you have given, and which I certainly had no reason to expect, inasmuch as I *have* had the pleasure of being chosen your Vice-President a few years ago.

I will not speak of the customary surprise at my election, nor will I say that it was undesired or un hoped for. The honor of being the President of the largest medical society in the United States—this society being, moreover, the County Medical Society—is certainly worth craving and hoping for ; and therefore I trust that you will appreciate my thanks, as I your good-will.

There is only one duty left to me this evening—

just to give you my ideas on the position this Society ought to hold, and its duties in relation to science, to its individual members, to the public, and to the body politic. Do not fear I shall be too prolix on these points. But I think the Society justified in wanting to know the views of its officers on the most important matters.

The stated meetings of this Society are principally dedicated to the reading of scientific papers and to their discussion. I believe that, as long as I have been acquainted with the working of the Society, its efforts compare favorably with the merits of other societies. Some of the papers I remember to have listened to were far above the average, and replete with new ideas and fertile suggestions. But we suffer from one circumstance, which has crippled our progress and detracted from the scientific value of our exertions. We have good physicians and surgeons, we even have eminent men in many branches of the exact sciences. But we have, with very few exceptions, no profession of learning, no men who can afford to give their whole time to study, to independent work. The great names of medical science are all European. And Europe would be very willing indeed to receive us amongst the best of her own. The Nott and Gliddon, the Morton, Silliman, Wormley, Flint, the Elliot and Thomas, the Gross, Peaslee, and others, are so well appreciated on the other side of the Atlantic that America, while proud of what has been attained under the most difficult circumstances, ought to look for means to improve her scientific standing and usefulness.

It has long been a petted idea of mine that the County Medical Society will one day help in solving the question how science can be delivered from the weight of daily mechanical toil which so impedes the freedom of thinking and working ; that it will aid in creating institutions that shall be worthy of the country we live in, and afford the means, to such as by nature are destined to become the teachers of their fellows, to follow the inspirations of their genius without the spectre of necessity driving them into the hardship of daily mechanical work. Such men as Europe possesses by the score are absolute requisites for us. It is true that electricity and steam have made the world one country, and that no secrets are known in the republic of science that are not common good. But the life of civilization is reciprocity ; it will not do always to take without giving. We have the greatest territory, the longest railways, the largest steamboats, the most extensive telegraphs, the boldest bridges and buildings, and the smallest original scientific literature. The wants are clear. Let us all do our share in elevating our science, ourselves, and each other.

I believe that a large number of our members will agree with me on one point concerning the composition of this Society. Not everybody can be a great genius ; there are but few such ; average intellect is what most of us have to be satisfied with, and beyond the gifts of nature we cannot possibly go, neither we nor the members of any other profession or society. But there is one thing which can always be of the highest order, because it but

partially depends on intellect and education. It is wisdom and morals. While we have to be satisfied with the mental powers we can command amongst us, we must command the morals, not of the average, but of the best. I speak in my own name, and in that of my colleagues, when I ask you to help us in gaining the co-operation of the best men that can be found, and in keeping out or driving off such as ought not to belong to us. We ought not to believe that any profession ennoble a man who is not worthy to enter. There is no trade or profession that can be protected from unworthy intruders. If there is any profession, however, which deserves not to be thwarted by them, it is ours.

If it must be our object to obtain the good-will and active co-operation of good men, I entreat you, gentlemen, to help your Board in enlisting those amongst our numbers, whom we see here but rarely, for active work. Some of the best men of the city, who are members of our Society, are absent more frequently than the interests of the Society will permit. To whom much is given, from those much is required. If the dignity, the solidarity, of the medical profession of the city and country is to become a fact, not one member ought to refuse to go on duty. There are always more men willing to listen and learn than there are such as are able and willing to teach. I do not make this remark with regard to such of our members only as have gained a well-deserved reputation by life-long work, but also with special regard to those younger men in whose brains the future of American science is getting prepared, who are given to

studies of a special nature and to exact investigations.

Only those who do their full duty to themselves and their fellows will have a right or a chance to modify our relations to the public and also to the body politic. I do not speak of the individual relations of the physician to his patients—rules cannot be given in regard to these—but of his relations to them in matters of common interest : for instance, public institutions. We live under peculiar circumstances. Our political organization is such that our theory is frequently better than our practice. We have the best constitution on the globe, a constitution framed by wise men and adapted to wise and prudent men, and at the same time as large a class of ignorant and illiterate fellow-citizens in the territory of the United States as any other civilized, even monarchical, country. We have the good republican rule of electing the best men to offices—and they say it has happened that a bankrupt mechanic has become the moral and mental leader of a large community, or an incompetent tradesman all at once a wise statesman, the saviour of his country, politically. The remedy will be found in a civil service bill, the necessity for which is so generally felt that it is a Republican Senator and a Democratic Representative who have undertaken the task of securing it.

In our public relations, generally, we have to deal with similar difficulties. As a country we are young, upstart, and are suffering from all the incongruities of upstart communities. The great process of growth, helped by unbounded appetite and

good digestion, is not yet finished. Society is by no means in a stable condition. As there are marble palaces and hovels in close proximity, so we have sudden wealth and young education—very young and unfinished education—under the same roof. Society is not always ruled by the best ; it is usually controlled by the powerful and the ambitious. The greatest and most uncontrollable power is money, no matter whether it is made by brain work, industry and saving, or by blockade running, shoddy, or stock jobbing.

The public institutions, in which the medical profession takes a lively interest, are controlled to a great extent by money, family, clique, or political influence. They ought to be the subjects of the closest attention on the part of the profession as such. United efforts in that direction will prove efficient ; for, certainly, in every board, no matter how composed, there ought to be some members willing to do their best. We ought not to despair of human nature to such an extent as to believe that there should not be some who would be glad to be guided by the judgment of experts rather than by their own inexperienced intuition. I have always thought that the County Medical Society, by studying the affairs, the statistics, resources, results, merits, and shortcomings of our public institutions, would work in just the proper sphere, and for the benefit of our fellows and of science. There is no medical community which has more talent, and not one which has more authority. It is our duty as well as right. The Medical Society of the County is, moreover, through the State Medical Society, intimately con-

nected with the State and its politics. I know the time will come when the opinion and advice of the County Medical Societies and the State Medical Society will be asked for in regard to one most important matter—I allude to medical education. The material wealth and power of the country had its best help in decentralization ; but private means and competitive efforts do not appear to be able to afford the millions, collect the genius and talent, and create the museums and institutions worthy of seats of learning, such as Europe boasts of by the dozen. If the time will come for such progress, the task of advice and practical interference will be with the County Medical Society.

I give these hints, believing in their being correct, requesting the gentlemen to keep them in view ; and finally begging you to believe that, whether they are wrong or right, I shall be but too willing to work with you for our common interests.



INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

INCLUDING A PAPER ON INFANT ASYLUMS.

I HOLD in my hands the record of the members of this Society in the last year. There are names among them of men who no longer adorn these seats. There is not one of them who has not been, when he had passed away from us, honorably mentioned by us ; there are a few whose loss all of us will long mourn, and whose memories we shall forever cherish. The two members to whom I consider it my sacred duty to allude were Dr. Bibbins and Dr. George T. Elliot.

Dr. Bibbins was for many years a member of your Comitia Minora, and your Treasurer. To say that he was a diligent and trustworthy officer, although that is saying a great deal, is not much when we recollect his untiring industry in behalf of the honor and standing of this Society, and of the profession in general. There are but few who, with equal erudition, and tact, and zeal, and *modesty*, have untiringly worked for common interests as he did to the hour of his last sickness ; which may have found its work of destruction easy in one whose nervous system was overstrained and exhausted.

Dr. Elliot was one of those to whose exertions this Society owes a great part of its flourishing condition. It was his ambition and pride to gather large numbers of members, secure good papers and

worthy discussions, and to hold extra meetings. We owe his memory thanks for what he has accomplished in that line. It is true that his predecessors had facilitated his work, for there was no society in the city that had shown a better record for many years when he commenced his useful career as our President in 1868. But it is also true that no public man in a public place was ever more diligent, zealous, and at the same time gracious. To his other private and public virtues I need not allude ; they have been recalled to your mind from this place before to-night. Whenever his name will be mentioned, we shall remember a gentleman, a man of taste, a refined scholar, and an amiable colleague. I have to thank him, personally, for my finding the Medical Society of the County of New York, when I had the honor of being the first time elected to preside over your meetings a year ago, large in numbers, regular in attendance, earnest in purpose, and progressive in spirit.

Fortunately, death has not been the only power that has marked its changes among us. The records of last year exhibit a rapid increase of our members. Seventy medical men have joined our ranks, against eight whom death has taken from our midst and a few who have left the city and county. I hail this fact with joyful expectations of further increase. It shows that individualism is not the paramount tendency of medical men as a class, and that the universal law of centripetal attraction exerts its power. It proves that medical men are aware of the existence of common interests which can better be served by large bodies than by the few or the one.

The liberty of the individual is not thwarted by a certain amount of centralization. Hundreds of private men feel the necessity of closing up into a regiment, in order and discipline. Small communities and states, with the same language, customs, and interests, have for centuries, up to this very year, sought and found means to abolish artificial boundaries and melt into one. Decentralizing State rights have been wiped out with fire and blood to develop the growth and power of a great country, free at last, which is destined to be the harbor and fosterer of the civilization of the republican world of the future, as it has become the protector and home of fugitive republicans of Europe. Thus the tendency to follow the laws of attraction and gravitation yields its fruits in the political, the social, the literary fields. The readiness with which new names are added to our lists proves to what extent, consciously or unconsciously, medical men feel the necessity of uniting their strength. It will be our duty to prove that, even without our legal standing in relation to the political administration, we have attractive power enough to hold them and to grow ; but at the same time it will also be our bounden duty to improve the advantages of our legal standing in the interest of our members, our Society, the medical profession, and the public at large. I hope to be capable within a short time of pointing out the possibilities of availing ourselves of our connection with the State and the other county medical societies for the benefit of both the profession and the community.

Among the additions to our number during the

last year I notice dozens of foreign names ; the schools and universities of Great Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland, Poland, and Russia have sent their pupils to swell our ranks, while our own schools have offered their full share as heretofore. Thus our Society but repeats the historical and ethnological fact of our great Commonwealth, which has been the result of the mixture of all the nations of the universe. While, however, the question of the beneficial influences of such mixture has, from a political point of view, sometimes not been considered as settled to universal satisfaction ; while even a dozen years ago there could be, as a political issue, a strong party of nativists, there was never, to my knowledge, in the liberal profession to which we belong, any such party feeling. For those of us who are old enough will remember that just in those years which engendered and saw the political efforts of Know-nothingism, a small number of foreigners, who are still among us, were bidden a hearty welcome in your midst, and have even been promoted since to the highest honors the profession can confer upon any member.

The difference in the reception and appreciation of the foreign-born member of the profession from what we notice in political life now and then, is very suggestive. The United States, for instance, claims the necessity of a five years' residence before a new-comer can be admitted to citizenship. Five years are considered necessary to acquaint the average immigrant with our constitution and the spirit and the habits of our republican people ; they are considered an apprenticeship for those whose lives have

been spent under monarchical rule. But as soon as they are considered to be imbued with the principles of republicanism and its practical working they are admitted as equal. There is no doubt but that, if the necessary knowledge and habit should be thought accessible in less time, the term of five years would be reduced. We have the proof of this assertion in the fact that a number of States have reduced the term of preparatory residence, as far as their own simpler, more uncomplicated affairs are concerned. What, then, would be the condition of things if the newly-imported immigrant came, as a rule, not from monarchical communities, but from republican States with institutions, rules, habits like our own? Can any one think of a legislator who would, for an average immigration of *that* kind, consider an apprenticeship of five years necessary? On the contrary, we can safely say that when in future the monarchies of Europe shall have been swept away before republicanism conquering the world; when France shall have the fact and not only the name of a republic; when Germany shall have adopted a self-government worthy of the character of its people and the high standard of its thinkers; when old England, whose very sap and juice are drying up over the old outworn roots of its existence—meaningless and powerless as it is nowadays in the councils and destinies of nations—shall have been rejuvenated to its original Anglo-Saxon freshness and vigor by republicanism; when, in fact, all Europe shall have stepped over the boundaries between monarchism and republicanism, bondage and free-

dom, dynastic sway and enlightened self-government—there will be no apprenticeship any more than there is between the States of this one and indivisible Republic of the United States. Such is the influence of equal education, habits, aims, and interests. And such is the cause and source of the universal citizenship among the members of our liberal profession, from whatever geographical country they may have arrived. The first minute of your acquaintance with a medical man who is born and raised your antipode reveals in him a relative, a brother. The same ideas, even the same terminology, render your intercourse with him like that of an old friend. For we are so fortunate as to live in a time when medical science has the same base and foundation, that of Nature and its study.

It has not always been so, nor could it be so, as long as, or wherever, the standard of science and society was generally low. It is a peculiarly instructive fact that these two will closely correspond with each other. The science and art of old Egypt have no greater accomplishments to boast of than hieroglyphs and pyramids, and her physicians were the priests of Isis. The Greeks, however, whose art, resulting from their enjoyment and close observation of Nature, was in many instances equal or even superior to our own, produced a Hippocrates, one of the greatest and truest observers of all times. Among the Jews, whose one science was the combination and union of politics, religion, dietetics, and medicine, the practice of the healing art was exclusively in the hands of priests and legislators. The Romans sometimes borrowed the culture of

their neighbors, and some of their medical men were Greek; usually, however, they destroyed it. Their path was marked by the sword, and the blessing they carried along was slavery. Accordingly most of their physicians were slaves, and Justinian fixed the price at which their persons could be bought. The Christian middle ages—which knew no higher scientific authorities than Aristotle, and Galen or his Arabian translators or transcribers, and have not succeeded in producing a single original mind in medicine before the times of Paracelsus—relied on the healing powers of their priests and, by way of contrast, of despised Jews. The Indian's medical man is his sorcerer; for the red man believes in miracles, in supernatural or rather unnatural powers, just as much as the illiterate and credulous white man who follows the footsteps of the clairvoyant, the medium, the quack.

In this manner every age and every country had its own medical science. It required the results of centuries, struggling for light, to yield a common base; that base being the increased knowledge of Nature. But more than some descriptive knowledge of natural bodies or phenomena was required. A universal medicine has been, at last, the result of the genetic idea and researches, the idea that there is nothing unalterable and unchangeable in Nature; that everything is incipient, growing, and disintegrating; that the same process which had been noticed in nations, in the course of centuries, is taking place in every being from minute to minute. The researches in chemistry, showing rapid or slow transformations, in comparative anatomy pointing

out small and trifling differences, have been the first to sharpen the senses and to prepare the way for modern medical ideas. To France belong the first great names of Lavoisier, Laplace, Bichat, Dupuytren, Laennec; to Germany, the glory of establishing medicine on its solid modern foundation. To the world belongs the credit of fully appreciating and recognizing the working of the mind and the progress of development, never minding the language or nationality of the man who has a claim on priority. Thus, the men whose names I have mentioned, and the names of Oken, Schwann, Johannes Müller, Rokitansky, Schönlein, Virchow, Hunter, Davy, Faraday, Darwin, are no longer national names, any more than in other fields the names of Galileo, Copernicus, Newton, or Raphael Santi and Correggio, or Beethoven and Mozart. These men speak the language of the human mind; they are the leading citizens of the universal world-republic of science to which we all, equal, free, and fraternal, have sworn allegiance. There is no blockade, no fire, no Franco-German war, that will ever disprove our belonging to the same community. The progress of one man, of one country, is at the present day the common property of all men, all countries, and an isolated civilization or science belongs to the past. Let us hope, and every one at his own wheelwork, that the unity of science may be but the precursor of the unity of mankind.

With this view American physicians have always received their foreign brethren friendly and hospitably, no matter whether they had come to settle or to visit. With this view I welcome to our So-

ciety those who have lately joined us. Besides, the fact of their coming to us proves their agreeing with the sentiments I have briefly expressed. There is many a common battle we shall have to join in.

Among our new acquisitions I notice also a large number of younger members of the profession, some of whom have already drawn the attention of the medical public to their labors and earned golden opinions. I cannot but express my satisfaction at their accession to our numbers. If there is a physiological difference between them and the older members, it consists in the relation of the new-formed young cells entering the organism, the framework of which is established before. The latter gives the necessary firmness, is less changeable, but, it is true, less necessary for the performance of the physiological functions. The former are the active and enlivening portion of the organism. It is the young blood cells, the young gland cells, the organism is supported by ; their healthy action is the condition of healthy and active life ; without them the organs and the organism would soon die of atrophy. I hope our young cells will not carry this comparison any further. They might feel like saying that the old blood corpuscles cannot do better than to get disintegrated as speedily as possible and disappear from the field of action, or that long-organized connective tissue is but a scar and inert, or that the old pavement epithelia of the epidermis, with their shrunken nuclei, ought to be rubbed off at once and buried in the bathtub. They may be right sometimes. But the old estab-

lished framework might have a line of defence : it might retort that young cells might overdo their physiological function ; that it might happen that over-copious proliferation will break down the whole organ, young and old, or that the too copious and irregular invasion might prove a malignant growth. We shall easily get along, though, and all of us, old and young, perform our share of the work, by contributing our best to the general stock of knowledge. At all events, our younger brethren, or part of them, are conversant with those methods of study and investigation which have elevated modern medicine to its present standard. Therefore the Society hopes for and requests such contributions to the papers and discussions of our meetings as will prove their efficiency and fill our wants. These gentlemen will surely not forget that every one has to do his best where our aims are the same, and that by so doing they work for the future, which ought to be, and necessarily is, theirs.

While pointing to these wants and stating my earnest request for a diligent and faithful co-operation of such of our members as are accustomed to the exact methods of investigation with the microscope or chemistry, I still think that the papers read and discussed before this Society during the last twelvemonth are of a high order and creditable to both their authors and our Society. Allow me to recall the following items :

November Meeting, 1870.—Paper by the President on “Craniotabes,” and general introductory remarks. Cases of, and remarks on, “Blepharoplasty,” by Dr. Knapp.

December Meeting.—Paper by Dr. Fordyce Barker on

“Blood-letting as a Therapeutic Resource in Obstetric Medicine.”

January Meeting, 1871.—Paper by Dr. H. Knapp on “Formation of Bone in the Eye.”

February Meeting.—Paper by the Vice-President, Dr. Austin Flint, on “The Pathological Relations of the Gastric and Intestinal Tubules.”

March Meeting.—Paper by Dr. J. Lewis Smith on “Scrofula.”

April Meeting.—Paper by Dr. Leonard Weber on “Abscess of the Appendix Vermiformis.”

May Meeting.—Paper by Dr. H. B. Sands “On the Use of the Plaster-of-Paris Bandage in the Treatment of Simple Fracture, especially Fracture of the Femur.” “Case of Abscess of the Appendix Vermiformis,” by Dr. Ernst Krackowizer.

June Meeting.—Paper by Dr. F. N. Otis on “Syphilitic Infection, with Special Reference to the Channels through which the System becomes contaminated, and to the so-called Incubation Period of the Disease.”

September Meeting.—Nomination of Officers.

Concerning our recent admissions I have another remark to offer.

It is not a small satisfaction to me that in this year of my presidency one of the most urgent questions of the day should have been quietly and noiselessly answered. The admission of females into the ranks of the medical profession—or, rather (as their obtaining the degree of M.D. is a matter belonging to chartering Legislatures, and their obtaining a practice depends on the choice or prejudice of the public), into the existing medical societies—has been decided by you by a simple vote, not attended by either the hisses and clamors of excited young men in medical schools, or the con-

fusion and derogations of the meetings of a medical association. I think we can say that our action has finally settled a question the importance of which was recognized by everybody. The vote of the largest society of the kind in the Empire State, and, I believe, in the Union, will have the effect of soothing the passions and levelling prejudices in the circles of the army of medical men, forty thousand strong, in the United States, and of raising us in this respect to the standard of European countries. Even the conservative seat of learning, Edinburgh, has admitted women to medical studies. Paris has turned out a woman doctor of medicine, who will prove, I hope, none of the least ornaments of this Society, the profession of this city, and our common country. Russia can boast already of her Kaschewarowa, and will within two years permit any well-educated and sufficiently-prepared woman to enter the halls of medical learning; and Switzerland, little but republican Switzerland, enjoys in its University of Zurich the presence of dozens of female medical students. I say "enjoys," for it has been a matter of public congratulation on the part of the professors of that institution that, since the admission of women, not only has the university gained a number of hard-working and successful students, but that, besides, the general bearing of the students of the stronger sex has been more quiet, sedate, moral, and studious.

The question whether women shall be admitted to the study of medicine in the existing medical schools in our country, will be solved in time. It appears improbable, for several reasons, for the

present. The standard of many of the young men entering upon the study of medicine, as far as preparatory studies are concerned, is so little elevated that the schools will not lack sufficient numbers of students : for it is true that ours is one of the liberal professions in the Union which do not consider the previous acquisition of a classical or literary education a *conditio sine qua non*. And further, as long as new institutions, worthy and unworthy ones, male and female, are daily chartered upon the recommendation of lay members of State Legislatures, the increase in number of special colleges for females can be continued *ad infinitum*. Thus it may happen that, for some time to come, this question of admitting females to our medical schools for male students will not be very eagerly ventilated, as its practical necessity may, to many of us, not be very obvious. Still, let it not be forgotten in the history of this Medical Society of the County of New York that we have opened our doors to worthy members of the medical profession, male or female, white or colored, and thus granted reality to the gospel of American citizenship, the Declaration of Independence, according to which we are all free and equal. Let it not be forgotten, either, that we, in our circle, have generalized and idealized the peculiarly American proverb, "Help yourself." Emancipation, both of color and sex, means nothing else but to universalize the postulation of helping one's self. The future constitution of an ideal human society will be such that every member will take such a place, fill such a position, as is both adapted to his or her taste, and adequate to his fac-

ulties and services. The choice of a calling will depend on the first, the recognition by society, position, on the latter. That is the meaning of "help yourself," which never excludes that everybody else should also help himself, nor renders the helping each other impossible. On the contrary, the very existence of human society in general, and this Republic in particular, is based on the liberty and independence of one and all. Monarchs and oligarchs only claim liberty and self-destination for their sole persons and systems. I wish we, in our political and social system, and in the institutions of our private and scientific circles, might forever bear in mind that we have always been the banner bearers of universal liberty ; and that, if the public opinion of Europe, greatly influenced by a monarchical and anti-republican press and office holders, has frequently thrown the "help yourself" into our faces as a reproof, we mean and meant to help ourselves and each other, and them also ! We need not sacrifice truth and modesty to spread-eagleism when we point to the facts of our Sanitary Commission, our Chicago, or to the hungry of their Ireland, or the wounded and starving of their Germany and France. And, from this general mode of viewing all questions of great importance concerning the requirements of progressive development, we have, all of us, co-operated in solving the woman question in our department, no matter whether we have all been equally enthusiastic in deciding it, or whether we have simply followed the dictates of our longing for justice or equity, or resolved upon giving every member of human society a chance to develop his

or her faculties, on their own responsibility as to failure or success.

After all I have said, I think I am justified in asserting that we have progressed in the right direction, in the acknowledgment of equal rights and universal solidarity, in a truly republican spirit. Besides, there is one progress we have made which is too evident to be overlooked. We have done our share, we believe, in teaching each other by papers and discussions. We have commenced, besides, to stimulate scientific researches. Hitherto, we must confess, the sun of science has risen for us and mankind in the far East, in Europe. She has the advantage of longer centuries, stored-up knowledge, hundreds of seats of learning which are not schools in which a special branch of science and art is taught, but universities of science. She has her large museums, libraries, and collections. She has, what is more important than anything else, a general basis of thorough elementary and either literary or classical education previous to a special course of professional training. She has the advantage of the habit of study and thinking. In Europe, the universities, as they have the office of finishing the sixteen or twenty years' school education, have also that of advancing science *per se*. The great works of literature, general and special, the classical results of combined observation, learning, and thinking, have made their appearance from the laboratories, the clinics, the libraries of European universities. The solutions of many grave questions we owe to the prizes established, judged, and crowned by them. If we compare the four hundred

pages of the "Report on Education, by John W. Hoyt, U. S. Commissioner," as contained in the sixth volume (1870) of the "Reports of the U. S. Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exposition, 1867, published under direction of the Secretary of State, by authority of the Senate of the United States, edited by William P. Blake, Commissioner of the State of California," we shall admit the fact that we have good schools, but no European universities. Especially the task of advancing medical science, of stimulating strictly scientific researches, which our medical schools cannot fulfil, must with us necessarily fall upon the medical societies. Now, from this point of view, our Society, in my opinion, has, by approving of and authorizing a prize on a strictly scientific subject, which will require researches of a laborious and partially novel kind, begun a new era in the efficiency of medical societies, and proved her earnest appreciation of her position in relation to medical science.

Thus we have commenced to work according to the duties of every medical society, and the profession in general, in a number of important directions. There are, in fact, but three views which can be taken of the work, the actions, the duties of the medical profession—but three different relations.

The first two I have cursorily spoken of. They are the relations to the members of the profession itself, that is, to themselves or each other, and to science. A thorough review was not expected this evening, nor was it in my plan to dilate on them. The third highly important question, that of our re-

lation to the public and to the political community, I expected to discuss this evening. I meant to discuss our responsibility to the public, and in connection with that the raising of the standing of the average practitioner, in the interest both of the profession and the public.

The relation of medical science to almost every branch of civilized life is self-evident. I do not speak of the care of individual disease; its importance as a duty of the medical man is understood by the lowest degree of intellect. I do speak of the whole province of hygiene and social science. Protection against epidemics, supervision of the sale of medicines, medical and in part also physical care of the poor (sick or well), coroners' department, supervision of dead-houses, public and private institutions for the sick, orphan asylums and foundling houses, the condition of cemeteries, measures against syphilis, sanitary inspection of schools with regulation of hours, subjects of teaching, condition of school benches, supervision of factories, of prisons, are duties which form the natural province of a well-informed medical profession. I go further. Part of the humane jurisdiction of the future will form a portion of the domain of the philosophical physician of the future, which will not leave the plea and the proof of insanity, or total or partial responsibility of the accused, in the hands of a shrewd or blustering solicitor, or to the discriminating minds of twelve men whose only claim to sit as jurors sometimes consists in that they could find no excuse for staying away. I also meant to discuss the difference between a trade and a liberal profession,

and the relation of both to the public and the political community. Also, how it happens that, when a man is out of coats, he goes to a tailor; out of shoes, to a shoemaker; when his watch is broken, to the man who knows something about watches; when he is out of health, to a seller of nostrums, to a clairvoyant, a medium, a grandmother, a neighbor. How it happens that, when his horse is sick, he will send for the horse doctor; when his child is sick, for the priest, the schoolmadam, the auntie, or Mrs. Soothing Syrup. How it comes that, when a portion of his money is at stake, he goes to a lawyer whom he knows to be informed about the laws of the land; when his health is failing, to somebody who knows anything but the laws of his body. How it is that there are laws against coining false moneys, coining checks, coining false pretences to obtain money, laws protecting your pockets, but no laws protecting the health and life of the community, of the very people who make the laws of the land; how it is that this criminal carelessness and ignorance on the part of the public and the lawgivers have contributed to demoralize even the ranks of a liberal profession and to impede their progress; how that this profession, usually upbraided, made light of, neglected, has always taken the initiatory steps to protect the health and lives of the public, almost against its wishes and remonstrances, enforced the laws of hygiene, diminished mortality, lengthened the average duration of life, and improved the means of protecting the community, when their services were thought by it as superfluous as they were life-saving. I also meant to

speak of the mode in which, in my opinion, the constant cry among our own ranks for elevation of our profession, in the interest of the public, could be satisfied. I am sorry I have to simply announce this subject of medical education and practical reform for some other occasion, as I have felt compelled to lay a subject before you which appeared to me so urgent that I could not but present it at once. It is of such particular urgency because of immediate practical importance; and at the same time has claims to the attention and study and co-operation of every physician.

A few mornings ago I learned through my newspaper of the opening of a new lying-in asylum and foundling hospital. The number of such institutions begins to swell; the interest of the public is aroused, money is freely forwarded, and the lay and professional members of the public are thoroughly aware of the necessity of saving infant lives. I shall not here discuss the questions whether an effort should be made to save abandoned children, or whether the effort to save abandoned children will encourage crime. I shall simply try this evening to contribute my share to answering a third question, of an "appeal in behalf of the New York Infant Asylum," which met my eye but a few days ago—the question, Can these children be saved? I shall also partially answer the question, What has been done for them in New York City? How many have been saved? If many, why change the old plans? If few, why not make a radical change?

I cannot answer the question to my entire satisfaction; for, to do so, the most exact and positive

statistics on all institutions would be required. Now, part of the necessary information is found in the general literature on the subject. Part of the statistics concerning New York, however, I published some time ago, but have not taken particular pains to give them a wide notoriety. Still, some medical journals have republished part of my statements. The subject, however, is too important to be dealt with in a superficial or supercilious manner. Therefore I shall give to-night what I have, and for what it is worth.

About a year and a half ago I read to the Medical Board of the Infant Hospital, Randall's Island, a report on "The Raising and Education of Abandoned Children in Europe, with Statistics and General Remarks on the Subject." It was printed in the minutes of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction. A few hundred copies, which they liberally placed at my disposal, I distributed among the medical journals of the country, such persons as I knew to take an interest in, or have a connection with, foundling or infant institutions, and a number of medical gentlemen. I now believe it was a false professional pride that induced me to withhold my essay from the secular papers and the public on the ground that it was but a report to my colleagues of the Medical Board of the Infant Hospital, and because I was, perhaps, too deeply impressed with, or wrongly influenced by, the rules laid down in the best intended but in some respects rather *naïve* and unpractical law-book, the "Code of Ethics." I now believe that the public and the papers had a claim to possess

that report, and that, if its contents had been thoroughly ventilated in the press, public opinion might have been before this corrected to a certain degree in regard to the best means of raising abandoned infants. For I had enjoyed unusual facilities. Not only had I several months to spend on collecting the necessary material during the summer of 1869, but the authorities, both public and professional, of England, France, Germany, and Austria aided me in my endeavors, and a great many otherwise inaccessible, never-printed statistics have been copied by or for me ; not to speak of a manuscript volume on the foundlings of Bohemia, handed over to me by one of the best authorities on that subject, Prof. Ritter von Rittershain, of Prague. My mistake in not giving the report the publicity it ought to have had was, however, in part corrected by some medical journals, in part by a paper read before the Social Science Association in Philadelphia by Dr. Parry, who has deservedly earned the thanks of the public for his dealing with a number of questions, both social and physical, of the founding problem, in accordance with the statistics and results of my little book, to the extracts of which he adds valuable information on the city of Philadelphia. Thus I cannot complain of my work having been in vain ; still the most important question appears not to be as yet answered sufficiently to the satisfaction of the public at large. This question is, Ought children, or rather ought infants, to be raised in public institutions or in private families ? In the city or in the country ? By wet-nursing or artificial food ? Of this latter I shall not speak, be-

cause in theory everybody agrees, if it were only on philosophical or religious principles, that babies ought to be raised on breast milk.

Thus the question is practically reduced to this : Is it desirable to collect infants in an institution, combined or not with a lying-in establishment, there to raise them ? Is it preferable to farm them out to private parties ? Is it preferable to take the intermediate road and divide their numbers up in a number of country cottages ?

The first plan, to gather and raise infants in a public institution in a large city, commends itself at first sight. There is a large, commodious building, facility of getting the necessary help, kind-hearted superintendence, the proximity of city comforts and medical attendance ; there is a large number of people whom you expect to call upon for generous contributions. The idea suggests itself, also, that a lying-in establishment ought to be combined with every such institution destined to receive foundlings ; for the saving must be immense when the baby is taken care of, before his birth, by the same kind hands that are to fondle him afterward. Let us, however, do away with this plan at once. Every medical man knows it to be a fact that a lying-in asylum will generate disease more than any other hospital, and infect the babies. Every man with hospital experience has observed it, and every general practitioner has met with puerperal diseases in women and severe affections in the new-born at the same time or in the same houses. It is not long since Lorain published a volume on the " Puerperal Fever of Women and Infants." I have myself no-

ticed the fact that when, in a public institution of which I shall have to speak, erysipelas appeared among the children, one of the houses, which was by far inferior to the other from a sanitary point of view, was entirely free from the disease, while the better house was infected with erysipelas among the children, only because part of it was used as a lying-in establishment. I wish those gentlemen and ladies who think of new institutions of the kind would consult the physicians with whom they have the good luck to be connected, and with whose recommendations they are always eager to go before the public. I also wish the medical gentlemen would offer their knowledge, their opinion, their judgment, although not asked for, for the benefit of their friends who work, to the best of their knowledge, on the impulses of their hearts. These friends of theirs cannot, however, ask for advice about special questions, as they know nothing about them. It is impossible to ask questions without a certain knowledge. This knowledge about the absolute danger of combining large lying-in hospitals with foundling or child's institutions they have not. Therefore I urge upon the medical gentlemen to warn their friends and the public against a step attended with positive danger to the infants whom they mean to benefit. The question and its answer is such an old one, and has been answered so often and so uniformly, that it ought no longer to be necessary either to put or answer it. Even where there are large foundling institutions and lying-in establishments in the same city in Europe, they are no longer found under the same roof. In this

particular department of raising babies it appears as if the arts of printing and steam-shipping had never been invented. The experience of all Europe, so dearly bought, so bitterly complained of, goes for naught here. We mean to make our own sacrifices, have our own victims, mourn our own losses, do as badly as any bygone century, because we do not take the trouble of profiting by the experience of the Old World. A lady at the head of a large new institution of the kind in this city has told me herself that she knew nothing about the results of the different modes of raising babies in Europe. Let, then, the medical men in good standing, large practice, and social connections, who may be asked for advice, or whose information will be thankfully received by the generous planners of new institutions, protest against the combination of lying-in and foundling hospitals. By so doing they will counteract the empiricism which in so many instances has been the curse of our political and social institutions.

Next in order is the question whether babies ought to be raised in the country or the city.

One reason why infants should be raised in the country, even under equal circumstances, is the statistical fact that they will thrive better. Of one hundred children born alive there died before the fifth year :

	Years.	In the cities.	In the country.	Difference.
France.....	1853-54	35.69	28.56	7.13
Holland.....	1850-54	36.25	28.90	7.35
Sweden.....	1851-55	38.86	24.50	14.36
Denmark.....	1850-54	29.66	22.68	6.98
Sleswig.....	1845-54	27.42	23.42	4.00
Holstein.....	1845-54	29.92	25.29	4.63
Saxony.....	1847-49	39.88	36.22	3.66
Hanover.....	1854-55	28.70	26.47	2.23
Prussia.....	1849	36.02	29.47	6.55
Average.....	.....	33.60	27.28	6.32

Of one hundred deaths, of all ages, in England, there were :

	Up to the end of the second year.	Up to the end of the tenth year.
In all England.....	31.58	44.91
Cities with 100,000 inhabitants or more.....	35.12	51.39
Cities with less than 20,000.....	31.49	46.79
Manufacturing country districts.....	35.36	45.90
Agricultural districts.....	24.33	35.40

Mr. Husson urges even the shortening of the preliminary stay of the foundlings at the central depot, although a number of wet-nurses are kept there, and wants them transferred to the country instantly.

Last in order, not least, is the question where foundlings ought to be raised—in institutions or in private families.

Places inhabited by many can never yield an atmosphere as fit for breathing as well-kept private residences. Moreover, young infants, in conse-

quence of their delicate constitution and their not producing vital warmth by physical exercise, are confined to the house and room during the greater part of the year and day. Besides, offensive admixtures to the atmosphere of rooms in which many children are living cannot be avoided. Even the institutions in which adults are kept suffer from the same influences, to such an extent that not infrequently the very entrance into such a place is a guarantee of imminent disease, and portions of hospitals have sometimes to be closed. Alvine discharges and urine contaminate the air of infants' wards to a considerable degree. From this source originate the numerous cases of poor sanguification, and of constitutional diseases such as rickets, scrofula, etc., even typhoid fever and scurvy ; from this source comes part of the really immense mortality of foundling hospitals. Whenever the attempt is made to correct this cause of disease and death, you will find that this attempt is punished at once. Ventilation is never complete except by opening windows. To relieve the wards of their unbearable stench—I advise you to visit a large, fine-looking, whitewashed, clean ward in a foundling hospital, in a Nursery and Child's Hospital, at 6 A.M.—you open the window, and in come the enemies of mucous membranes: intestinal catarrh, entero-colitis, bronchial catarrh, pneumonia. Of eighty-eight deaths in the Nursery and Child's Hospital which I shall specify to you, more than forty are due exclusively or partially to pneumonia. These facts have been the causes of the universal changes in the rearing of infants left on the hands

of society in all Europe. At present the former foundling institutions are nothing but depots for temporary admission and speedy distribution about the country.

There may be drawbacks also, as far as private boarding is concerned. But where, in such an individual case, or a number of individual cases, changes are required, they are easier to make than in institutions, which, as a rule, are more than comfortably filled.

Even if the feeding be the same in private boarding and public institutions, the results are more favorable in the former category. That a baby should live and thrive on artificial food in a private family is by no means a rare occurrence. Every attentive person, every medical man, has ample opportunities for such observations. That, however, bottle-fed babies in a public institution should survive is a rare exception. In the wards of infants' hospitals everywhere the receiving of a baby in the purely bottle-fed department is acknowledged by all as amounting to a sentence of slow death. Moreover, the only article of food without which a baby could not be kept alive—viz., milk—can be more readily and more regularly procured by the poorest countrywoman than by the richest and most circumspect institution in a large city.

Besides, the nurses of institutions having charge of a number of infants at once, by day and by night, are very apt to, and surely will, lose the self-sacrificing patience and the everlasting attention which are absolute requisites for the sustenance of a young human being.

A task that requires all the holy instincts, the self-immolating, restless care of maternal love, is left sometimes in the hands of corrupt, lazy, whimsical, or malicious women, who make it their business to neglect their business, and are womanly and motherly only as far as they are so anatomically. It is much more probable that the poorest countrywoman who takes charge of a society's child, under the superintendence of the proper authority, under the eyes of her neighbors, and with motherly feelings developed in the poorest one bound in marriage and family ties, will succeed in saving a nursling from certain death.

I have spoken of superintendence. It is necessary and must be close. Of the infants sent out by the "general office of nurse children" under M. Husson, at Paris, and closely watched, the mortality under a year is seventeen per cent—viz., but one per cent more than the average mortality of the same age in all France.

Those placed out on the same conditions by private offices, and not watched, yield a mortality of forty-two per cent.

Human nature is the same everywhere. The general results of not watching the parties to whom children are confided must be feared, if not expected. We could learn from the ladies of Berlin, Germany, how the united efforts of the public, especially of the ladies, can be made useful under the directing control of the official authorities.

The latter I prefer as a directing power. Society itself, the State, must be considered responsible for the life of every human being that can be saved.

It is a duty, not good-will. It is good policy, as I have proved in my report, to practise charity. Human society has committed both a blunder and a crime when a member that could be saved, physically, suffers death ; when a member whose soul and heart might have been kept pure, will sin.*

* Of the whole population of the countries of Europe, according to Wappaeus, 33.66 per cent are below fifteen years of age. Thus one-third of the living are consumers only, while they produce nothing at all. Between fifteen and twenty years, when most individuals are still unproductive, very many still preparing for their vocation or trade, are 9.72 per cent. But 48.88 per cent are between twenty and sixty years, the period of activity and work. Between sixty and seventy years, a period of life which is almost unproductive, are 4.92 per cent ; and beyond that age, where unproductiveness is the rule, there are 2.81 per cent of the whole population. At all events, nearly one half of the population are consumers only, before they are able to repay society for the sacrifices the community has to bring in order to raise them and render them productive. Thus a sound political economy requires the continuation of life until and beyond the period of full and unfettered productivity. Whatever life is thrown away before, is just as much capital thrown away. Therefore both social, moral, and political economy insist upon the protection of the lives of the newly-born and young infant. Humanity requires it, and common prudence commands the saving of a product after it has been called into existence and has given rise to a waste of working power. Political economy need not be told that a mother who carries a child does less work than in normal circumstances. To waste the product after it has given rise to expense, which is equal to non-production, is a direct injury to national wealth and power. Every new invention in medicine and surgery—the forceps, vaccination, chloroform—have been so many means of increasing the national wealth by saving life.

But this is not the only consideration of importance. The

How is it with us in many instances? A party of ladies or gentlemen favor the idea of founding an institution. They ask for contributions. Sometimes they will contribute themselves, although

lost life is a dead loss, but the raising of unhealthy children, or vicious ones, amounts to a constant injury to society, a perpetual malignant disease eating the marrow of the land. If, therefore, any means be resorted to to save the lives of, and providing an education for, the abandoned or orphan children, they ought to be sufficient, and amply so. If this duty be neglected, the punishment falling upon a community in particular, society in general, is but just. Neglect of either physical welfare or moral and mental education is equally dangerous.

Insufficient physical development, depending upon incompetent nursing, scanty or injudicious feeding, results in the raising of a class of persons whose presence in society is a dead weight and an eating cancer. Feeble men, crippled women, raised by insufficient measures for the bringing-up of children, will require renewed efforts for their support on the part of society as long as they live. Thus capital is wasted on their being born, nursed, and supported. If they had never been conceived and born it would have been better for society. As they exist, they have a claim on humanity. When they have facilities to work, society has a claim on them and will thrive through them; not otherwise. Thus raising the poor into healthy and robust persons is a direct gain.

If the moral and mental education of the same class of individuals is neglected, there is more than a mere probability of demoralization being the result. Public order is destroyed by such a population, and public means squandered. Means that were saved in the raising and educating of the babies will be required tenfold to sustain houses of correction and State prisons. In 1853 there were in the bagnios of France 5,758 persons. Of these, 391 had been illegitimate children and 146 foundlings. In the State prisons, of 18,205 inmates, 880 illegitimate and 361 foundlings. And the same proportion

they may not expect to read their names in the newspapers with the amounts attached. They erect large buildings which they cannot pay for, or receive patients whom they have no sufficient means to support. Then, instead of paying from their own pockets, as they have followed their own hearts and imaginations, they ask for further contributions ; they make people embroider, knit, and sew, and buy their own work ; they make the pub-

holds good for all houses of correction. Of 1,300 Frenchmen, one was the subject of legal punishment, and among former foundlings one of 158. Thus, of the foundlings of France, eight times as many get punished by law as the average population.

Thus it appears that the most economical policy consists in raising and educating infants and children into physically and mentally healthy men and women. Money spent on them is easily saved in hospitals and prisons. There is but one excuse for a community for neglecting the obvious duties toward the children and itself—viz., extreme poverty. Therefore, where a special community has but deficient means, the whole people, society in general, ought to hold themselves responsible. Society in general is benefited either by or suffering from its constituent parts, and therefore the care of the individual is a matter of common concern. If there is any meaning in the principle of general solidarity, it includes the right of every individual to a healthy body and a sound education. The equality preached by early Christianity and the doctrines of modern social science agree perfectly on that point, and the shrewdness of political economists has arrived at the same conclusion.—*The Raising and Education of Abandoned Children in Europe, with Statistics and General Remarks on that Subject, by Abraham Jacobi, M.D., Member of the Medical Boards of the Infant Hospital, Randall's Island, and of the Nursery and Child's Hospital, New York, 1870.*

lic buy musical entertainments, for which nobody pays—ay, they make them dance. If all that is insufficient, the common enemy is attacked ; the common enemy is the treasury, the people's money, given away less by ignorant or injudicious legislators than by unscrupulous lobbyists. Thus you will find, in the financial report of the "Seventeenth Annual Report of the Nursery and Child's Hospital in the City of New York, Fifty-first street, corner of Lexington avenue, March 1st, 1871," the statement that of \$45,000 spent in one year (rent not included), the house inmates paid about \$12,000, the treasuries of the State and other authorities \$24,000, and that private subscriptions and donations amounted to little more than \$1,700. The balance was made up by the receipts of the great Charity Ball.

If, on further consideration, you discover that, *besides* subscriptions, donations, payments of inmates, and proceeds of Charity Ball, the treasuries of the people of the State of New York pay alone 30 per cent more than the rate of sustaining the infants under the charge of the Commissioners of Charities and Correction, you will, I hope, agree with me in my conclusion that the State, that society, can work at a cheaper rate, and on a more uniform plan, than the dozens of self-constituted authorities. Altogether, you will find that the total cost of sustaining the infants of the Nursery and Child's Hospital amounts to more than double the expense of the Commissioners for the same purpose. I wish I could say that their successes were double as to general care, good food, clean wards,

and mortality. Unfortunately, the high standards of food, wards, and mortality are undeniable.

Now, in my opinion, if the expenses are to be borne by the State, the State ought to have the credit, for it has the moral responsibility toward the indigent and helpless ; and the tax-paying public, who seldom learn what is being done with their money or to what extent it will be given away. I remind you of the fact that the Legislature of last year decreed away nearly a million as their contribution to private or even sectarian institutions. I know even of instances where large sums of money, people's money, were spent for purposes altogether different from what they were asked and given for. Let me, however, return to another special subject of this paper.

The subject, when brought before an intelligent and knowing public, is so plain that it commands attention at once as one of the most urgent questions of the day. Therefore the Medical Society of the State of New York passed, in its second meeting in February, 1871, the following resolutions :

Whereas, Humanity acknowledges the claims of every human being to life and to some degree of prosperity, and recognizes in every civilized country the right of every new-born to be protected and supported ; and

Whereas, Political economy requires the saving of a being which has given rise to outlay until and after it can become useful and repay the expenses incurred in its full development ; and

Whereas, The moral constitution of society requires that every member of society should obtain a sufficient training of its intellectual and moral powers ; and

Whereas, The mortality of infants, being large from natu-

ral causes, is three times larger in public institutions destined for the maintaining of infants than in the general infant population; and

Whereas, The Board of Commissioners of Charities and Correction, always willing to be guided by competent advice, and desirous of doing their best, have already had a report prepared for them suggesting changes and improvements in the raising of their infants :

Therefore, be it *Resolved* by the State Medical Society to appoint a committee to investigate and report, in the meeting of 1872, upon the following subjects :

1. The causes of the fearful mortality of abandoned infants in general, and those in large public institutions in particular.

2. The reasons for the giving-up of large institutions, and the success of the dispersing system for abandoned infants, in every country of Europe, where the preservation of lives was an object.

3. The causes of the unusually large infant mortality in the institutions in charge of either public or self-constituted authorities in New York City and State.

4. The plans and means for improving the condition of foundlings and abandoned children in New York City and State :

- a. During their infancy, when they are most subject to disease and death.

- b. During childhood and adolescence, when they require an education sufficient to make them useful members, and prevent them from becoming enemies of and dangerous to society.

As I am a member of the chosen committee, I have herewith offered a small contribution to the elucidation of the subject, and offer another one in studying the statistics of one of our great institutions which has been founded and supported for the alleged purpose of saving life. I select the Nursery and Child's Hospital, for the very simple reason that I know as much about it as about any other ;

in fact, my knowledge of the minutiae of that institution you will find tolerably complete. I consider the statistics I lay to-night before you as but preliminary to, and part of, my future report to the State Medical Society. By them I mean to prove the absolute impossibility of raising infants in a large institution, a fact that has been ever so many times proved in Europe. The first communication I have to make I beg permission to recapitulate from my report on "The Raising and Education of Abandoned Children in Europe," etc.

The *Nursery and Child's Hospital*, New York, under the management of thirty-five estimable ladies of the city, in which the infants are fed half on breast milk, half on well-selected artificial food, a mixture so frequently and advantageously used in private families, exhibits in the records of 1870 the following facts. I take the liberty of adding at once that I make use of limited statistics only, because up to March, 1870, the records have not been well kept. Since that period they have been kept regularly, as I, being one of the medical staff of the institution, know from personal experience. There have been, from March 2d to May 31st, 97 admissions, 20 discharges, 10 deaths.

The admitted nurslings were by no means new-born; in fact, very few belong to that category. Eighty of these admitted children had a total age of 367 months, averaging 4.5 months for each child at the date of admission. Seventeen of the admitted children were two years and over, up to ten; altogether there is a total number of 84 years for 17 children over two years—that is, an average age of

five years. Of these 17, being of an age where the rates of mortality are always low, none died. Thus we have 10 deaths in 80 infants with an average age of 4.5 months at the date of admission, within a single quarter of a year. Further, of these 80 infants (from two days to two years old) admitted during these 90 days, 20 were discharged. The shortest stay was 1 day, the longest 68 days. The total days of these infants in the institution was 324 days for 20 inmates—that is, discharges took place, or were taken, in 20 cases out of 80, after an average stay of 16.2 days in the Nursery. Thus there are 10 deaths in 60 children of an average age of 4.5 months at the date of admission, within the three months following their admission. The average age is a little higher because most of the infants who were discharged were very young and have been counted in the grand total of ages. Now, if we grant that March and one-half of April are unfavorable months, we have to admit that May is favorable to health, that the winter months from December to February are just as untoward as March, and that the heated term of the summer is surely still more dangerous. Thus we may safely assume that the rate of the general yearly mortality in the Nursery is certainly about the same as in the mentioned quarter of March, April, and May; therefore the mortality through the year would amount to 40 out of the number of 60; or, if we mean to count the infants that got their discharges after 16 days' stay in the institution, out of 80 children who were admitted at an average age of 4.5 months. I prefer this latter figure for the following reasons

of both justice and charity. The 50 children remaining, having grown a quarter of a year older meanwhile, would, in the second, third, and fourth quarters, exhibit a smaller rate of mortality, while those newly admitted would yield the very same mortality we figured above. Thus we can afford to count those 20 discharged ones with the rest. If in future the records are kept as fairly as in the last few months, we shall have facts instead of estimates.

Now, then, there are 10 deaths quarterly in 80 children, each one four to five months old at the date of admission. Grand total of 50 per cent. deaths yearly of children of four to five months and upward to two years.

Statistics prove that the mortality of the infants born alive, from the date of birth to the fifth month, is larger than that of infants between that age and two years. Of 3 infants who die before the termination of their first year, two are less than five months old, and one is between five and twelve; and of 31 who die before the end of their second year, 26 have not reached the end of the first, and but 5 die between their first and second years. Thus, of the above 50 per cent, 8 would belong to the second year, 42 to the first. They were admitted at a time of life when mortality is but half of what it is in the first months. Thus it appears that the mortality of the Nursery, if all the admitted infants were new-born instead of being four to five months old, would be so appalling that I am glad I am not required to state its exact figures. The worst figures of the European foundling hells of former centuries are not more fearful than ours, and, although being an

officer of that institution myself, and believing that I and all the rest of us have conscientiously tried to do our duty, I cannot but testify and bow down to the truth that, in spite of all the efforts of the medical staff and the painstaking and kind-hearted ladies, the probability of the lives of children entrusted to a public institution is very slim indeed. The younger the children, and the larger the institution, the surer is death. Every story added to an edifice which is meant to be a temple of love is an additional hecatomb of the innocents. Modern civilization, planning for the best, but mistaken about the means, has succeeded in out-heroding Herod.

These facts are sufficient to justify the abrogation of large institutions designed for the raising of young infants. The facts appear to show, besides, that older children (not a single death occurring in 17 of an average age of five years) bear up easily under the same circumstances that are a source of death to the infants.

In the same institution—viz., the Nursery and Child's Hospital—there were 41 births from the 1st day of January to the last of May. Of the infants, 4 were stillborn, 6 died, 23 were discharged, 8 remained in the institution to 1st of July. Those remaining in the institution on the 1st of July were all born in April and May; with a single exception, every one born previous to March 31st having left the institution or died. The 23 discharged infants were in the institution 609 days, each averaging 26.5 days. Those who were born and died in the institution lived altogether 274 days, an average life of 45.6 in the institution. Those 8 who remained in

the institution on July 1st had lived, *in toto*, 340 days, an average of 40.25 for each of the 8. Thus their average ages was not yet the average age at which those 6 died, nor were the ages of the discharged 23 much more than one-half of the average ages of those who died. The naked fact is that of 14 infants (23 having been discharged) 6 died.

Now, if I add the fact that the women are well kept, the food is good and plentiful, medical attendance as efficient as the sometimes faulty method of appointing medical attendants in our public institutions can make it, and the whole institution under the assiduous management of thirty-five ladies belonging to the best society of New York City, I believe I am justified in concluding that a large institution is the very place that nurslings and infants ought to be kept out of. For the poor tenements of our working classes yield better results in their raising of infants than the large institutions the city might be proud of.

From the 1st of June to the 1st of October, 1870, 101 children were admitted to the Nursery and Child's Hospital. Their average ages were more than 1 year 8 months. There were 29 from 2 to 13 years old, and therefore beyond the principal ravages of fatal disease; 27 were removed after they had been in the institution an average time of 20.4 days. Thus there remained 55 *bona-fide* inmates of less than two years. In that same quarter of a year there are 33 deaths recorded in the books of the Nursery and Child's Hospital.

It is important to know that, according to a list before me containing names, ages, etc., 18 more

children who were admitted before October 1st, 1870, died after that day.

This frightful mortality of the inmates of the Nursery and Child's Hospital becomes more apparent by comparing it with the following statistics (of Report, page 38): According to Farr, of 392,224 children born in England in 1867, there died before the end of their first year 65,464, viz., 16.69 per cent. According to Prof. Ritter, of Prague, the mortality during the first year of legitimate and illegitimate children born alive in 1855-1861 was 25.36 per cent in the Austrian Empire. In Hungary, considered separately, in 1862-1865, 24.95 per cent. In Berlin, according to Chamisso, the mortality of all the infants born alive from 1816 to 1841 was 22.7 per cent up to the end of their first year (33.5 of the third, 36.9 of the fifth). The rate was lower in 1842-1860; but in 1861-1866 it was 28.4 per cent.

These reports were written and printed (although—I am at this day ashamed to acknowledge it—withheld from the public at large in consequence of false professional pride). when the following newspaper article—one of very many—appeared on November 1st, 1870 :

The Infants' Home—a Worthy Institution—what it is doing, and how it is done.—Among the legion institutions supported by New York charity, few appeal with greater force to the promptings of humanity than the organization the name of which stands at the head of this article. Doubtless one must watch intelligently its daily workings fully to appreciate the end it is designed to and does accomplish; but yet the most casual observer can indorse what the managers tell.

The histories which could make our annual reports intensely interesting must be as silent as they are sad. They say: "We

often feel that it is not alone our prayers which have brought God's favor on our work, but the sighs and prayers of penitent sufferers have been answered by the constant stream of heavenly blessing."

There have been two large additions to the building, the Asylum corner of Fifty-first street and Lexington avenue, since its occupation for present purposes sixteen years ago, and the last annual report shows 371 children in its care, 100 of whom were born there, and the success of the lying-in wards has exceeded the most sanguine hopes of friends. To these come women—never without reference; some from poverty, some from shame and the world's cold scorn—for bodily and spiritual comfort and sustenance.

The interest of the State Legislature has been so awakened by representations of the board of officers that power has been accorded to take in many who from poverty and despair would have been driven to suicide or infanticide.

The histories and the mysteries of the place may never be written, as we have said before; howbeit, as an example and epitome of all, the reporter might speculate as best might be on the wan, joyless face of one young mother lying there recently, of whom nothing was known save inviolably to those in charge, if, indeed, there was a history; but the framed Scripture text at the head of her bed seemed a chapter of revelation to the visitor, reading, "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth."

We went to the children's school—for there is a school for such of the children as are large enough to attend—and neat copy books were shown us with great pride by sturdy-looking boys, and little girls with roguish, happy faces. Their childish voices united in singing for our entertainment, too, and we were shown the first composition that had ever been written in the school—the *chef-d'œuvre* of little black-eyed BERTHA.

Who could think unmoved of these tender ones, rescued, perhaps, from the tyranny of a drunken father, from the breast, earlier, of an intemperate mother, giving thanks that here they were safe and happy? The annual Charity Ball, in behalf of the institution, has always met with brilliant suc-

cess, but its necessities increase with its sphere of usefulness, and the provision of a quarantine establishment for contagious diseases has well-nigh or quite absorbed the proceeds of the last entertainment, so that, if subscriptions and donations should not be forwarded to the rescue, the work of charity must be much curtailed. The officers the present year are Mrs. Cornelius Du Bois, First Directress; Mrs. T. C. Doremus, Second Directress; Mrs. Henry Anthon, Third Directress; Mrs. E. W. Stoughton, Treasurer; Mrs. Algernon S. Sullivan, Secretary; Miss R. B. Hunter, Assistant Secretary. Among the active managers and honorary members are found the names of many that are "household words" where moral and physical want abound.

This article is but a specimen of many, and none of the most brilliant or affecting of its kind. How they are made up, on the spur of and for the moment, we all know who read our daily papers, the result of many different brains, hearts, and pens. Maybe even those are right who assert that now and then lips of honey, cheeks of milk and blood, eyelashes of silk, hands of velvet, voices of silver, dollars of gold, and other organic and inorganic contrivances have a great influence on men, nations, and newspaper articles. At all events, when you compare a lengthy article in the same paper (the *New York Times* of November 12th, 1871), you will find that in consequence of statistical data contained in my report on "The Raising and Education of Abandoned Children in Europe," and other facts credited to Dr. Parry, of Philadelphia, the placing-out system is pronounced the far superior one.

Let me, however, return to my statistics, or rather go on. First let me direct your attention again to

a memorandum copied from the records of the Nursery and Child's Hospital, which I here present. It contains the names and ages of 18 infants and children who had been admitted before, but died *after*, the 1st of October, 1870, that is, after my last report was made up. They range from 21 days to 1 year and 10 months. It also contains the ages of these 18 children at the dates of their death; they range from 2 months to 3 years 3 months and 13 days. It further contains the causes of their death, which, one by one, read as follows: Diarrhœa, tuberculosis, diarrhœa and pneumonia, pneumonia and cholera infantum, diarrhœa and pneumonia, chronic pneumonia, pneumonia, pneumonia, marasmus, pneumonia, measles and cancrum oris, measles, diarrhœa and pneumonia, chronic diarrhœa, capillary bronchitis, pneumonia, entero-colitis, chronic diarrhœa, diarrhœa and bronchitis.

I have read this list to you because, after hearing the preceding reports of mine, you might have been under the impression that there were not a sufficient number of children left in the institution from which it could be recruited.

Finis coronat opus. Let me continue:

According to the records of the Nursery and Child's Hospital, which appear to have been as well kept as those from March 1st to October, 1870, 117 babies were born in the lying-in department of that institution from October 1st, 1870, to October 1st, 1871. Of this number 69 were discharged within a short time after their birth; most babies go out with their mothers within a few weeks, some remain a

little while longer. The aggregate stay of the 69 little ones amounted to 108 months and 5 days. A month is always taken in my accounts as averaging 30 days; thus the average stay of each of the 69 amounts to 1 month and 17 days.

My information on one of the rest is not positive. I do not know whether James McAlister has been discharged or died. I have not counted him among the dead. Of the other 47 babies who were not so fortunate as to get discharged, 27 died. Their aggregate ages at the time of their death were 69 months, or 2 months and 17 days per head. We have no means of knowing how many of the discharged 69 would have succumbed, if they had averaged a stay at the institution of 2 months and 17 days, instead of 1 month and 17 days.

Of the 20 who remain alive within the Nursery, 9 have been born in the last quarter of the year; 5, viz., 20 per cent., in the very last month. They have not yet averaged 2 months and 17 days. The future will show whether they are to be counted among the living, the dead, or the discharged. The list of the 18 diagnoses (more or less), confirmed by *post-mortem* examinations which I have read to you before, renders it doubtful whether all of them will live.

I wish every practitioner of medicine present in this hall to compare his own experience and statistics among the rich and the poor with these results obtained in the Nursery and Child's Hospital, where every one of the 47 has had its mother's or, in some cases, nurse's milk. Of 47 new-born babies, 27 have died at the average age of 2 months 17 days, and

half of the rest are not old enough to have reached this average.

You will now be prepared for some more figures :

ADMISSIONS OF INFANTS AND CHILDREN TO THE NURSERY AND CHILD'S HOSPITAL, OCTOBER 1ST, 1870, TO OCTOBER 1ST, 1871, BETWEEN THE AGES OF ONE DAY AND NINE YEARS ONE MONTH:

	Admis- sions.	With aggregate ages		
		Years.	Months.	Days.
October, 1870.....	25	22	5	23
November, "	22	35	11	27
December, "	21	27	7	27
January, 1871.....	22	14	4	4
February, "	18	23	4	26
March, "	17	38	11	9
April, "	21	30	10	8
May, "	17	24	8	3
June, "	19	37	0	3
July, "	27	37	5	8
August, "	26	43	1	25
September, "	18	25	7	13
Total	253	361	9	26

Thus the average of 253 infants or children admitted in good health from October 1st, 1870, to October 1st, 1871, amounted to 1 year 5 months 16 days. I naturally lay stress on the fact of their health being good when they were admitted; for it is the rule of the institution that it shall be so. This much is sure, that no child has died this year of a disease contracted before it entered the Nursery. Still, so great is the liability of the inmates to fall sick in the institution that the secretary of

the Medical Board publishes, in the annual report gotten up in 1870, the unnatural fact that 2,000 serious cases of sickness occurred in one year among 377 admissions; and in that of 1871, over 1,400 cases of sickness in 358 admissions.

Of the 253 admitted from October 1st, 1870, to October 1st, 1871, 128 were discharged within a short time after their admission. I will presume they were all in good health when they left the institution.

	Discharges took place.	Aggregate stay, in days, at the Institution.
October, 1870.....	12	761
November, ".....	10	755
December, ".....	16	1049
January, 1871.....	12	393
February, ".....	11	800
March, ".....	10	666
April, ".....	12	316
May, ".....	8	274
June, ".....	8	283
July, ".....	17	848
August, ".....	7	304
September, ".....	5	132
Total.....	128	6581

Thus the average residence of each of the 128 inside the Nursery amounts to 1 month 21.4 days.

If you compare the enumerated discharges and admissions in the several months with the deaths, or if you will take the trouble to look over the record I have before me, you will reach the number of babies remaining alive in the institution :

	Admis- sions.	Discharged since.	Died since.	Remain alive.
September, 1871.....	18	5	4	9
August, ".....	27	7	3	17
July, ".....	27	17	4	6
June, ".....	19	8	7	4
May, ".....	17	8	4	5
April, ".....	21	12	9	0
March, ".....	17	10	3	4
February, ".....	18	11	3	4
January, ".....	22	12	8	2
December, 1870.....	19	16	2	1
November, ".....	22	10	8	4
October, ".....	25	12	12	1

After all there were 125 *bona-fide* inmates who stayed more than the average of 1 month 21.4 days. Of these died:

	Inmates.	Aggregate ages.		
		Years.	Months.	Days.
October, 1870....	12	7	1	8
November, ".....	8	6	6	20
December, ".....	4	0	11	28
January, 1871.....	8	3	10	0
February, ".....	3	1	8	1
March, ".....	3	3	0	25
April, ".....	9	11	10	2
May, ".....	4	2	6	4
June, ".....	7	8	11	12
July, ".....	4	3	1	19
August, ".....	3	2	6	27
September, ".....	4	5	9	21
Total.....	69	58	00	17

If you remember the meaning of the record of the 18 you will expect some more to die. Up to a fortnight ago, 1, who was admitted at the age of 1 year 3 months 21 days, died at the age of 1 year 7 months, on November 19th, of pneumonia. Thus, up to this date of November 19th, there were 70 deaths among 125 healthy children admitted to the Nursery. The average age at the time of death was 10 months 7 days.

The causes of death are attributed, in 1 case each, to croup, pleuro-pneumonia, entero-colitis and peritonitis, measles, pneumonia and croup, scarlatina and croup, diarrhoea and broncho-pneumonia, pleuritis, intussusception, broncho-pneumonia, atelectasis (child of 11 months 4 days), pulmonary tubercle and pneumonia, measles and pneumonia, diphtheria, pulmonary tubercle; in 2 cases each, to marasmus, hypostatic pneumonia, measles and croup, cholera infantum, whooping cough; in 3 cases each, to tuberculosis, atrophy, measles; in 4 each, to chronic diarrhoea and pneumonia; in 6, diarrhoea; 10, chronic diarrhoea; 13, pneumonia.

Of these 70 deaths, 18 occurred in children over a year, 52 in such as were less than a year old. But 3 of the former children had been admitted before they were a year old—viz., 2 were admitted at 10 months, 1 at 11 months 18 days. They died when they were 1 year 2 days, 1 year 17 days, 1 year 2 months 7 days old. Thus we arrive at a sum of 55 deaths among babies who were admitted before they were 12 months old. A large number of them had reached nearly that age at the time of their admission.

But how many babies were admitted under a year, of whom 55 could die within the short space of time reviewed in this retrospect?

Of the total of 253 admitted, 42 were over 3 years, 30 between 2 and 3, 44 from 1 to 2 years—together, 116 over 1 year. Of these 116, 76 were discharged in a short time. Of the remaining 40, 15 (18 less 3) have died within this limited time—a percentage, for the time being, of 37.5 among children over a year, very many of them over 2 and 3 years, and all of them entrusted to the Nursery in perfect health.

Of the 135 admitted at less than a year, 52 were discharged after a short period; 83 were left in the Nursery as *bona-fide* inmates. Of these 83, the number of 55 died within the limited period which is the subject of this compilation. The aggregate ages of these 83 at their admission was 377 months; the average, 2 months 23.8 days.

Thus it results that the mortality of babies entrusted in good health to the Nursery, at the age of nearly 3 months, within this limited period, is 66.26 per cent.

The aggregate ages of the 55 at the time of their death, including those 3 who passed their first birthday while in the institution, count up to 26 years 11 months 1 day; the average age of each to 5 months 26 days. As their average admission took place at 2 months 23.8 days, they lasted 3 months and 2 days each in the institution.

Some questions submit themselves very readily:

1. What will happen to those who have reached, like the dead, the end of their sixth month by this time, and will stay in the institution to the full end

of their first year? For the average ages of those 18 above mentioned, who were admitted before October 1st, 1870, and died after my former report was made, amount to 10 months 6 days.

2. Was it fortunate or not for the 128 discharged children to stay but 51.4 days in the institution, as the time averaged between admission and death is 3 months 2 days?

3. What is likely to become of the 20 living babies born in the place, and remaining at the present time in the institution, provided their stay is extended to the end of their first year? On the 20th of November their average life was a trifle more than 6 months, and up to that period 27 out of 47 (57.45 per cent) had died.

4. If $66\frac{1}{4}$ per cent perish among healthy infants admitted, as those of the Nursery, at an average age of 2 months 23.8 days, what would be the percentage if the babies were admitted at birth under the same circumstances?

To facilitate the answer to this latter question, I beg you to compare the statements laid down in a table contained in my "Report on the Raising and Education of Abandoned Children in Europe," New York, 1870, page 29 (see table on opposite page). From this table, which has been taken from official documents, it is evident that the mortality of babies who have reached the end of their first quarter is but one-third or one-sixth, for each following quarter, of what it would be from the first hour to the end of the third month of life. The above four questions are herewith submitted to your consideration.

I think I might go on *ad infinitum* with the prac-

OF 100 NEWLY BORN INFANTS WHO DIED IN :

	Belgium, 1840-50.	Holland, 1818-53.	Austria, 1851.	Sardinia, 1823-37.	France, 1853.			
0- 1 month..	5.18	4.70	10.96	11.14	6.60			
1- 2 months.	1.76	2.29	2.55	1.87	2.85			
2- 3 "	1.27	2.09	1.96	1.43				
3- 4 "	1.08	1.91	3.42	2.51	2.39			
4- 5 "	0.86	1.48						
5- 6 "	0.76	1.19	2.40	4.89	3.15			
6- 7 "	0.72	1.77						
7- 8 "	0.66	1.42	2.78					
8- 9 "	0.66							
9-10 "	0.65	1.29						
10-11 "	0.63							
11-12 "	0.80							
0-1 year..	15.03	18.14	24.07	21.84	14.99			

tical conclusions. I want to draw but one conclusion—viz., *that the attempt to raise babies in great institutions, even with large means to aid you, cannot be justified; that these institutions must be given up and reserved for other purposes, and that the only system worthy of being sustained is to place the children out with private parties.*

And now let us for a moment examine into the expenses of large institutions like the Nursery and Child's Hospital.

On page 12 of the Seventeenth Annual Report, under the heading of "Financial Report," you will find the expenses between March 1st, 1870, and March 1st, 1871, laid down at a little more than \$75,000. Of these I deduct at once \$30,000 for "temporary investment," "part purchase of Country Hospital," and "furnishing and support of Coun-

try Hospital." Balance, \$45,000. As repairs and insurance are counted up with more than \$4,000, I estimate the rent of the immense buildings at \$20,000 only. Thus I take \$65,000 as a fair, or rather low, average estimate of the whole sum spent for the benefit and support of 253 admitted children, and 117 lying-in women with their infants. *They are the only beneficiaries*, for the mothers taken in with, or in behalf of, their nurslings, and the wet-nurses, cannot be counted in this class any more than the matron, the ward nurses, or the domestics.

Those beneficiaries did not stay in the institution through the whole year, but a very small part of it only. The aggregate stay of the new-born who were soon discharged amounts to 8 years ; of those 27 who died at the average age of 2 months 17 days, to 6 years ; of those 20 who remain after the close of the year (October, 1870, to October, 1871), to 8 years. The aggregate stay of the 128 children who were admitted and soon discharged, to 18 years ; of the 125 who are dead or still alive, to 60 years. Total, 100 years. The aggregate stay of the pregnant women who were confined in the institution may be set down at 20 years. Thus \$45,000 without rent, or \$65,000 rent included, are spent on *a year's board* of 100 children (the new-born included) and 20 adults, said board averaging the sum of about \$400, rent not included.

How nearly correct this estimate is you find corroborated by the fact that the sum of about \$12,000 is credited as "house income" in this year's financial report. Our summing up would average a

yearly board paid by the inmates of \$100, or a monthly one of about \$8.00, which is almost the very figure (a little less) of the average board paid to the institution.

While I remind you of the fact that my figures cover the time from October, 1870, to 1871, and the report alluded to the time from March, 1870, to March, 1871, and that, therefore, trifling differences may be found, you will still find a few of the items in the expenses highly interesting.

The 120 annual boards required in round numbers: \$25,000 for provisions; wages amounted to \$4,000; stationery, printing, and collecting (of \$1,195 "subscriptions," I suppose), to \$625; wine, brandy, drugs, and surgical instruments, \$1,800.

Let, however, these figures suffice. He whom they have not yet convinced of the truth of my statement that large institutions, no matter what their means are, will destroy their infant inmates, may, perhaps, change his mind on still further investigation. At all events, it will prove a difficult task to trace the fearful mortality of the institution I have spoken of to radical faults in the manner in which it is conducted. I do not think there are many shortcomings in the administration of that institution which will not be found in all carried on upon the faulty principle of accumulating large numbers of infants under one roof. Still, it must be said that institutions under dozens of managers labor under unusual difficulties—never thrive well. There is always something meddlesome, fidgety, inconsistent, incongruous, in large numbers; nor is the transaction of business by a ring, if we are well

informed, cheap or expedient ; nor can we presume that, where less special knowledge, than ambition and theoretical love, is brought to bear upon a serious task like that of conducting an infant asylum, the results are surprisingly favorable. I say "theoretical love"; for, where a board of several dozen managers in New York City cannot command more than seventeen hundred dollars' worth of "subscriptions and donations," I dare say that love requires more practical illustration.

Old Homer says that a government of many heads does no good. He wants one master. Perhaps he thought of infant asylums. The improvements effected in the management and mortality of the Infant Hospital (Randall's Island) by the intelligent administration of a single medical officer with his subordinates, under the control and in the pay of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction, speak for the advantages of special knowledge and a uniform plan.

Let me, then, again urge the fact that large infant asylums will destroy children.

When this fact became known, many experiments were made of distributing infants over a number of places—the so-called cottage system. Six, ten, twelve, were kept in a small separate institution. The disadvantages are plain. The increased number of households raises the expenses, the difficulty of obtaining wet-nurses increases, control and medical attendance become more and more difficult. The cottage is, in fact, not much, if at all, better than a ward in a public institution for such purposes.

What, then, is left but to board out the infants

in the country? For, although the experiments of the Catholic foundling institution in Waverley place are by no means so bad as the experience of twenty years ago rendered probable, common sense, hygienic principles, and statistics point to the country as the residence of the children of the commonwealth. When this conclusion will be the conviction of all, the necessary steps will be taken, no matter how great the difficulties may be. With us they are not small.

Our population adjoining the great cities, especially New York, is not so large as in Europe, and is not so poor. It is not of such vital importance for a country family to avail themselves of the trifling subsidy paid for the infant boarder. But there are some considerations which are to be taken into account. The first is, that the infants we have to care for do not count by six or ten thousands every year; and the second, that the sum which is at present spent for every infant under the charge of the Commissioners of Charities is by no means a trifle, and, under the Managers of the Nursery and Child's Hospital, enormous. It would be found, on trying, that the apparent difficulties in procuring proper country homes for our infants would by no means be so great as they may appear at first sight. Even if there were some in the beginning, we should always gain.

The question whether it would be desirable to leave, if possible, the young illegitimate child in charge of its mother, cannot be answered in a manner uniformly adapted to every case. The facts exhibited by the Munich records, according to

which the children reared by their own mothers have a fearfully larger mortality than those entrusted to strangers, do not look encouraging. In our city I am afraid that many of our unmarried mothers would not prove excellent nurses. Still, the fact of their being sufficiently supported might change the circumstances.

There is another consideration not to be lost sight of. Unfavorable though all circumstances be within the walls of an institution, mortality can be reduced by procuring paid wet-nurses for the same. We know that our nursed infants thrive much better than the bottle-fed. But no breast milk is obtained except from those who have no home—the poorest and most miserable. No married woman, as a rule, at least none who has the slightest means of escaping the discipline of and submission to institution rules, will ever consent to become a wet-nurse to any of our children. Thus we have to take either the sickly, the profligate, the very poor, or consider ourselves very fortunate when we succeed in securing the own mother's breast for the support of the infant. Many mothers, however, who have a home in the country, have lost a young baby, or have milk enough left, after weaning, to nurse, or enough to nurse two, but who would never consent to leave their husbands and children, could be induced to take charge of an infant. A careful comparison of the direct expenses of the two modes of rearing infants, out of and in asylums, in Europe, has proved that even there no pecuniary loss is incurred by the more advantageous and humane proceeding.

Besides, the nurses necessary for the infants in institutions are just so many nurses kept out of the service of the general public. In New York City wet-nurses are scarce since the humane efforts of the Commissioners of Charity and the Catholic foundling institution have been directed to the task of supplying our foundlings with human milk. Thus it is very probable that what society gains on one side, in the saving of the destitute and poor, is lost among the public in general. At all events, such element of proper food as is accessible at its own home only—that is, breast milk of the countrywomen—is left unavailable and unused.

If not absolutely necessary, no attempts at obtaining breast milk ought to be made within the limits of the city. Besides the other damaging influences of city life and city atmosphere, which alone destroy so many infants' lives, the experience of former times, of boarding the city's infants within the boundaries of the city, has been very unfavorable.

It is not my intention to go into the particulars of administration at this moment. Still I beg the privilege of pointing out a mode of action which in some parts may prove faulty, but which under our circumstances will, in my opinion, prove sufficiently correct to enlist sympathy or bring out a discussion. Before so doing I again refer to my opinion on the responsibilities and duties, and the rights, of the State. *The whole administration of the foundlings ought to be controlled by the commonwealth. Both private and sectarian establishments ought to be under governmental supervision ; ought not to be*

supported or aided by the State, but not interfered with so long as their successes and general management appear satisfactory; the department of the foundlings to be centred in one office; the necessary appointments of the head or heads to be made by the Governor of the State.

The expense of boarding the foundlings, except those in private or sectarian institutions, to be borne by the people of the State of New York.

By concentrating the administration, the running expenses would be but small in proportion. New York City would have a single depot for the abandoned children, from which speedy distributions would take place. The large buildings at present dedicated to the purpose of raising infants would soon be required for those children who would be returned from the country after reaching the age of three or five years. Some might become hospitals—we have no child's hospital in New York City—some schools and asylums for the older children of the community, where they would be taught to become useful citizens of the Republic.

I assume a mortality in the first year, say, of 25 or 30 per cent of infants abandoned in their first year. After that time the mortality will become small. Of 1,000 abandoned infants, 750 or 700 must reach in future their twelfth month. I assume \$150, the amount spent by the Commissioners of Charities and Correction, to be a fair average for yearly board. Thus 1,000 abandoned infants would cost the State per annum, say, \$120,000. The 3,000 lives endangered or thrown away every year might cost us \$350,000 yearly; but then we should cer-

tainly succeed in saving most of them, at a proportionately small expense, and educating those many who have been saved.

The first steps in this direction would be to awaken the interest of the public, particularly in the country. Sympathy and interest must be stimulated contemporaneously. The printed minutes of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction of last year contain a proposition to make preparations for boarding out babies, submitted by the Medical Board of the Infant Hospital, Randall's Island. The Commissioners have, I believe, deferred further action only in consequence of the necessity of keeping up all their numerous charities, and from their fear of not being capable of meeting a momentary increase of expenses. But lately a paper was prepared, which was intended to be circulated over the signatures of the Commissioners, containing similar propositions. It is but justice to say that I have been told by them this very day that they considered the publication impracticable at that moment, but approved of and indorsed all its contents. I have requested and obtained the permission to read it, and abstain from any remarks or additions. It is written in the form of a letter, which was to be distributed among such persons as are mentioned in it, and, with its remarks and suggestions, will explain itself. It reads as follows:

DEAR SIR : Your special attention is herewith directed to the claims of a class of destitutes who, as they are helpless, are the more deserving of the sympathy of the just and benevolent. In their behalf the Commissioners of Charities and

Correction have tried to improve the methods of supporting, raising, and educating, have built costly edifices, and gladly availed themselves of any advice their medical boards could afford them. Still the results of their efforts are far from being satisfactory, and, after careful consideration of the difficulties to be overcome and the aims to be reached, the undersigned request you to give your attention to the following remarks and to lend your valuable aid in furthering their endeavors.

The class of destitutes in question are the foundlings and abandoned infants, amounting to the number of about three thousand a year, in the city of New York. Their claims have been so well acknowledged of late, and the public at large have become so conversant with the humane and political aspects of their case, that a number of associations have been formed for the purpose of either raising them or educating those who survive.

From a report laid before them by the medical board of their Infant Hospital, which admits yearly about 1,200 or 1,400 of these destitutes, we gather the fearful and embarrassing fact that infants collected in large institutions, of the best hygienic designs, with the most careful dietetic and medical care, will die in large numbers. This immense mortality is particularly great in earliest infancy. Of 47 deaths in New York City under five years, 39 occur under two years and as many as 30 under one year. The mortality of abandoned children under the charge of public or private authorities is still larger. The very accumulation of infants under one roof, the scarcity of breast milk obtained, the difficulty of securing competent nursing for a large number of infants, the ravages of contagious diseases, the poisoning by deleterious exhalations and excretions, etc., are just as many obstacles to the health and life of the young inmates of our public institutions. The difficulties of raising infants in our institutions, and of gathering a sufficient amount of breast milk in them, induce the undersigned to try a change with a part of their inmates. A number of them are to be given in charge of responsible parties in the country surrounding New York. The not unfavorable results of farming out, even in cities, when

compared with the mortality of institutions, encourage us to hope that infants farmed out in the country have a much greater certainty of life and a healthy future. And, with regard to this plan, we have herewith taken the liberty of sending you this communication.

We propose to farm a number of babies out until they have reached the end of the third year. In particular cases special arrangements may be made beyond that age.

Babies who have no teeth are expected to be fed on breast milk exclusively ; such as have from two to four teeth, on mixed food. Afterward they are to be weaned according to such rules concerning the feeding of the children as shall be laid down by the undersigned or their medical board.

A single party is to be entrusted with but one nursling. A medical examination only can decide whether in exceptional cases a woman is fit to nurse two infants. She may, however, obtain an older child in addition to the nursling.

She must either be married, or a widow, or very well recommended. She must have plenty of breast milk for the nursling in charge, no matter whether she has lost her own baby or has sufficient nourishment for two (her own and the stranger). She must be healthy, not destitute, not intemperate, and known to be industrious and not entirely dependent on the board paid for the nursling. She has to present a certificate from responsible parties—physicians, clergymen, postmasters, town authorities, or well-known citizens—concerning the above requirements, stating also how many children she has and how many she has lost.

The applications of women who offer to take charge of infants are made at the office of the Commissioners of Charities and Correction. The depot of the babies is at Randall's Island. The house physician notifies an applicant to call for her boarder. She has to call personally. Travelling expenses are refunded. The board money is ten dollars a month, to be paid semi-monthly, monthly, or bi-monthly.

Besides, we offer to pay twenty dollars to a party, with whom a boarder has been living for sixteen consecutive months, at the end of his second year.

These are the outlines of the principal rules which, in all probability, will govern the farming-out of infants in the country. We now apply to you, sir, and your friends, for your opinion and co-operation. You can advise us if, in your circle and neighborhood, the men in standing and authority, as mentioned above, would be found willing to help the cause of humanity and an enlightened political economy by giving such certificates as parties would require, by even encouraging a party to serve herself and the public by taking charge of an infant, and also by paying a certain amount of attention to the little one who has no mother but the community.

The general superintendence will have to rest with the medical board of the Infant Hospital. Their house physician shall be entitled to provide for special inspection. Still, it will be of the utmost importance to interest the public at large in the welfare of the foundlings, particularly the ladies, who, according to localities, might form committees for the purpose of watching and superintending the foundlings and their nurses.

You are respectfully requested to give the foregoing your attention, and to communicate to us your opinion as to the feasibility of our plans; whether, in your opinion, a certain number of women would be fit and willing to charge themselves with bringing up an abandoned infant in your neighborhood, and whether yourself or your friends, or their ladies, would be found willing, by occasional inspection, etc., to aid our attempts in raising infants, whose life is as valuable to society as our duties toward them are clear.

While offering the suggestions of this letter and my previous remarks to your consideration, I am fully aware of not having exhausted the subject. I have already, I know, to beg your pardon for keeping you so long. You will, I am sure, excuse me, on account of the importance of the subject on which I have spoken.

Quod felix, faustum, fortunatumque sit.

ON FOUNDLINGS AND FOUNDLING INSTITUTIONS.

A REPORT READ BEFORE THE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF
THE STATE OF NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 7TH, 1872.*

THE Medical Society of the State of New York having passed, in its meeting of February 6th, 1871, the following preamble and resolutions :

Whereas, Humanity acknowledges the claims of every human being to life and to some degree of prosperity, and recognizes in every civilized country the right of every new-born to be protected and supported; and

Whereas, Political economy requires the saving of a being which has given rise to outlay until and after it can become useful and repay the expenses incurred in its full development; and

Whereas, The moral constitution of society requires that every member of society should obtain a sufficient training of its intellectual and moral powers; and

Whereas, The mortality of infants, being large from natural causes, is three times larger in public institutions destined for the maintaining of infants than in the general infant population; and

Whereas, The Board of Commissioners of Charities and

* A large portion of the statements and figures contained in this report have been copied from "Report on the Raising and Education of Abandoned Children in Europe, with Statistics and General Remarks," by A. Jacobi, M.D., 1870, and "Inaugural Address, containing a Paper on Infant Asylums," N. Y. Med. Journal, January, 1872, by the same author. The former was printed in but a few copies, and is therefore not extensively known.

Correction, always willing to be guided by competent advice and desirous of doing their best, have already had a report prepared for them suggesting changes and improvements in the raising of their infants:

Therefore, Be it *Resolved* by the State Medical Society to appoint a committee to investigate and report, in the meeting of 1872, upon the following subjects:

1. The causes of the fearful mortality of abandoned infants in general, and those in large public institutions in particular.

2. The reasons for the giving-up of large institutions, and the success of the dispersing system for abandoned infants, in every country of Europe where the preservation of lives was an object.

3. The causes of the unusually large infant mortality in the institutions in charge of either public or self-constituted authorities in New York City and State.

4. The plans and means for improving the condition of foundlings and abandoned children in New York City and State—

a. During their infancy, when they are most subject to disease and death.

b. During childhood and adolescence, when they require an education sufficient to make them useful members, and prevent them from becoming enemies of and dangerous to society.

The President, Dr. S. Oakley Vanderpoel, appointed Dr. Jacobi, New York; Dr. White, Buffalo; Dr. Dean, Rochester; Dr. Thomas Hun, Albany; and Dr. Hutchison, Brooklyn, a committee to investigate and report on the above-mentioned subjects.

REPORT.

The greatest improvement of public morals in modern times consists in the acknowledgment of the principle of mutual solidarity; the principle

that all beings are endowed with certain inalienable rights, and that amongst these are life, liberty, and happiness ; and the further principle that protection is due to the feeble. Thus it is that modern history has commenced to solve the serious questions of the rights of color, sexes, and ages. If there be any right belonging to the new-born and feeble infant, it is that of security of life and health. Under ordinary circumstances the care of the new-born infant belongs to the parents or their families ; but there is a large number of infants who lack the necessary care and protection derived from their belonging to a family circle. A large number belong to parents sick in hospitals or confined in prisons, or to such as have died without leaving any means of sustenance for their offspring ; a large number of infants belong to parents or mothers who are not capable of providing for their entire necessities ; another number have been abandoned by their legitimate or illegitimate parents or mothers. All of these categories, especially the latter, have a claim on the aid of the community. Provision for their wants ought to be made in the interest, first, of the children, who have a right to live ; second, of the community, which has the natural duties of humanity to perform and its own economical necessities and moral requirements to consider. In order to better understand this assertion, we refer to the following facts and considerations :

Of the whole population of the countries of Europe, according to Wappaeus, 33.66 per cent are below fifteen years of age. Thus one-third of the living are consumers only, while they produce

nothing at all. Between fifteen and twenty years, when most individuals are still unproductive, very many still preparing for their vocation or trade, are 9.72 per cent. But 48.88 per cent are between twenty and sixty years, the period of activity and work. Between sixty and seventy years, a period of life which is almost unproductive, are 4.92 per cent, and beyond that age, where unproductiveness is the rule, there are 2.81 per cent of the whole population. At all events, nearly one-half of the population are consumers only, before they are able to repay society for the sacrifices the community has to bring in order to raise them and render them productive. Thus a sound political economy requires the continuation of life until and beyond the period of full and unbiassed productivity. Whatever life is thrown away before is just as much capital thrown away. Therefore both social, moral, and political economy insist upon the protection of the life of the newly-born and young infant. Humanity requires it, and common prudence commands the saving of a product after it has been called into existence and has given rise to an outlay of working power. Political economy need not be told that a mother who carries a child does less work than in normal circumstances. To waste the product after it has given rise to expense, which is equal to non-production, is a direct injury to national wealth and power. Every new invention in medicine and surgery, the forceps, vaccination, chloroform, have been so many means of increasing the national wealth by saving life.

But this is not the only consideration of impor-

tance. The lost life is a dead loss, but the raising of unhealthy children, or vicious ones, amounts to a constant injury to society, a perpetual malignant disease eating the marrow of the land. If, therefore, any means are resorted to for saving the lives of, and providing an education for, the abandoned or orphan children, they ought to be sufficient, and amply so. If this duty be neglected, the punishment falling upon a community in particular, society in general, is but just. Neglect of either physical welfare or moral and mental education is equally dangerous.

Insufficient physical development, depending upon incompetent nursing or scanty or injudicious feeding, results in the raising of a class of persons whose presence in society is a dead weight and an eating cancer. Feeble men, crippled women, raised by insufficient measures for the bringing-up of children, will require renewed efforts for their support on the part of society as long as they live. Thus capital is wasted on their being born, nursed, and supported. If they had never been conceived and born, it would have been better for society. As they exist, they have a claim on humanity. When they have facilities to work, society has a claim on them and will thrive through them ; not otherwise. Thus raising the poor into healthy and robust persons is a direct gain.

If the moral and mental education of the same class of individuals be neglected, there is more than a mere probability of demoralization being the result. Public order is destroyed by such a population, and public means squandered. Means that

were saved in the raising and education of the babies will be required tenfold to sustain houses of correction and State prisons. In 1853 there were, in the bagnios of France, 5,758 persons. Of these 391 had been illegitimate children and 146 foundlings. In the State prisons, of 18,205 inmates, 880 were illegitimate and 361 foundlings. And the same proportion holds good for all houses of correction. Of 1,300 Frenchmen 1 was the subject of legal punishment, and among former foundlings 1 of 158. Thus, of the foundlings of France, eight times as many get punished by law as the average population.

Thus it appears that the most economical policy consists in raising and educating infants and children into physically and mentally healthy men and women. Money spent on them is easily saved in hospitals and prisons. There is but one excuse for a community for neglecting the obvious duties toward the children and itself, viz., extreme poverty. Therefore where a special community has but deficient means, the whole people, society in general, ought to hold themselves responsible. Society in general is either benefited by, or suffering from, its constituent parts, and therefore the care of the individual is a matter of common concern. If there is any meaning in the principle of general solidarity, it includes the right of every individual to a healthy body and a sound education. The equality preached by early Christianity and the doctrines of modern social science agree perfectly on that point, and the shrewdness of political economists has arrived at the same conclusion.

There can be no question about the fact that, as a rule, the life and happiness of little children are better protected at the breasts of their mothers and in the circle of their families when there is a mother alive and a family to which they belong; therefore it would not be safe for the community to take charge of an infant in every case where the means of either mother or family appear to render the safety of an infant but little doubtful. It is better to aid such mothers or families in the attempt at raising their infants than to relieve them of the entire responsibility in regard to them, for the dangers attending the removal of an infant from the breast of its own mother are the more considerable the younger the infant. They suffer from being deprived of their normal food; the procuring of a wet-nurse is frequently difficult or impossible; when one is found, she may not be satisfactory; artificial feeding will not always be carefully attended to, and will certainly not always be adapted to every individual case, especially when they are entrusted to attendants amongst the poorer classes; there is less protection from the heat of summer or cold of winter; there is the danger of transportation from one place to another, of individual egotism resulting in insufficiency of care, dressing, and feeding, of the crowding of institutions taking charge of them, and not infrequently the incompetency of pecuniary means in both large public institutions and private homes. The egotism of private individuals has the same unfortunate result which is exhibited by undue parsimony in institutions destined for the reception of the children amongst nations who spend a great

deal of their means for other purposes—military displays, complicated custom-house administration, purchases of barren provinces, or the luxury of royal courts. The fact of the occurrence of a large number of illegitimate births in every community, and especially in large cities, cannot be denied; nor is it possible to conceal the other fact, that a number of children are destroyed before the normal commencement of their independent lives. The provision made for the sustenance of the poor has never proved sufficient to relieve the care and sorrow and annoyance depending upon the very existence of an illegitimate child, or of children born in wedlock to parents in very straitened circumstances. Thus it is that abortion, or premeditated destruction of the born child, or rapid or slow destruction by hunger and exposure, have interfered with the increase of population. Nor is it possible to expect that the mothers of illegitimate children should be either egotistic or resigned enough to call for the necessary support for themselves or their offspring, or that they should wish to be questioned about a number of particulars they are unwilling to divulge, or that they should willingly undergo want and hardship, for the only purpose of saving the lives of their children. As this is so, provision must be made for the sustenance of those who have been born, or those whose lives ought not to be destroyed before they are capable of continuing an independent existence. By so providing for the means to save and protect the new-born, the fallen, or helpless, the community will obtain two ends: first, to save lives; second, to prevent the demoralization of those who

will, under certain circumstances, resort to abortion or infanticide. It is true that in former times, in most countries, the facilities of getting rid of the responsibility incurred in giving birth to a new being have been too great. The very fact of the newborn being received without question and investigation has frequently been the cause of the reception of thousands of children born in wedlock, thereby facilitating hasty matrimonial connections, demoralizing the public by the ease with which they could rid themselves of their obligations, and spending improperly the means of the tax-paying community. Still, the very fact that the lives of the children, when not taken care of by the community, had been of sufficient importance to induce every civilized country to make provision for the poor, or uncared-for, or abandoned infant or child, no matter whether legitimate or illegitimate, shows an increase of human feeling and moral development.

The institutions by which this end is obtained are of two different kinds: the children have either been entrusted to private parties, who are expected to take the place of the unknown or incompetent parents, or they are given in large numbers in charge of institutions established for the purpose of taking care of hundreds, or even thousands, at one and the same time.

In Europe two methods of caring for the young have been amply tried. Some of the large commonwealths have adopted the principle that society is responsible for every individual's life and person. They take charge of those who cannot take care of themselves, consequently they do not inquire after

the family or mother or father of those entrusted to their care. In France the inquiry after paternity is forbidden by law. In a decree of the French National Assembly of June 28th, 1793, we read: "The nation binds itself to take care of the physical and moral education of the abandoned children. These children are given the name of orphans. Every other designation is prohibited. Every girl that undertakes to nurse her own child has a claim on national subsidy. Every citizen has a claim on the support, by the nation, of his children, in or outside of an institution." Most of these principles are still valid in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria, and also in Russia; but the loose manner in which the babies were formerly admitted is partially abrogated. It is a peculiar fact that most of these countries—in fact, all except Russia—are prominently Catholic. They are also those in which the necessity of taking care of the abandoned children was first urged, and principally by clergymen. The humanizing influence of the Catholic religion during mediæval periods is proved by nothing better than by such measures as were taken in favor of the helpless and abandoned infants.

The other method of caring for this class of the population has been called the Germanic or the Protestant. Society, or the State, lost the connecting ideal link of the Church. No common tie, no mutual responsibility. In fact, the German princes first embracing Protestantism did so for the purpose of making themselves independent of the emperor and enriching themselves by secularizing convents. Thus, while the Catholic princes had

usually availed themselves of their secular power in the interest of the Church, the Protestant ones used the Church or religion in the interest of their worldly aggrandizement. They succeeded, and henceforth in the Protestant countries the resources of the community were exhausted in the interest of the master, who bound himself to nothing but the execution of his will, was constrained by no Church, and had by no means a feeling of responsibility for the abandoned infants. The State, that is, its proprietor "by the grace of God," refused to take charge of a baby; the mother was declared responsible, also the father, when known in the village or town; and frequent disputes would arise as to where the infant belonged, and only when the responsibility could not be localized the commonwealth at large felt the least obligation. Even when, in modern times, absolutism was broken, the measures for the relief of infants remained almost the same. The claims of every human being to be raised and educated in a humane manner are acknowledged and recognized in such commonwealths only in which the importance of the individual is sufficiently understood, and the policy of the community is that of justice, equality, and liberty. Thus a republican society only, unbiassed by the self-willed egotism of one individual sovereign, will feel bound to save and rear the newborn, the feeble, the dependent, to his or her utmost capability. Whatever was obtained by the Church in Catholic countries, said Church being desirous to do all it could for the eternal kingdom, the glory of God, and its own power, this, and much more, is

done by a republican community, in its own interests, and on the bidding of its own conscience. Thus we find even the community of Hamburg, although strongly Protestant and under the influence of the North German governments, more liberal toward the poor new-born than any of the neighboring communities. The example of Switzerland appears contradictory. Although a confederation of republics, it still adheres to the narrow-minded principle not to relieve the illegitimate infants, for the alleged purpose of discouraging illicit intercourse.

The reason is to be found in the fact that Switzerland is not a republic, in the best sense of the term, but a congregate of twenty-two little communities with partially republican institutions, said communities living in almost constant jealousy and envy, hindering each other as much as possible, hating each other's institutions, usages, and religion. It is not much longer than twenty years that the separate dwarf republics were fighting each other on account of religious discrepancies.

We are in possession of official lists and tables concerning the poor children of Hamburg, which we owe, as they have not been printed, to the kindness of Senator Peterson and Dr. Meyer. They will show the method followed out in the care and distribution of infants and children left in public charge, either foundlings or orphans, or illegitimate infants whose mothers are not able to support their offspring, or children of criminals, etc., or of such infants as are given up to the city authorities by their mothers. For every mother has

a claim on the city to have her child taken care of. These statistics show that the care of the foundlings does not form a special department, but part of the general provisions in the interest of the poor. Illegitimate children especially are not recognized as facts. It is a peculiarity of Protestant Northern Germany that the fact of illegitimate births is hardly recognized. In Prussia this tendency to self-congratulation is so strong that no public houses of prostitution are allowed to exist, not even in the largest cities and under the supervision of the police. How this simple fact is able to improve public morals and official honesty is sufficiently proved by the lists of public girls kept under a sort of superintendence by the police, in the hands of local authorities. I have been permitted to see them, being told at the same time that they were not official, not authorized, inasmuch as an illustrious, elderly lady, connected with the royal family, was probably averse to admitting the existence of illicit intercourse in Prussia. It is but just to concede to the Catholic countries the praise of greater honesty and more practical statesmanship.

The number of farmed-out children of Hamburg under six months was :

1861.....	80	Of whom died under six months, 18
1862.....	90	“ “ “ 20
1863.....	72	“ “ “ 14
1864.....	80	“ “ “ 20
1865.....	82	“ “ “ 25
1866.....	84	“ “ “ 29
1867.....	90	“ “ “ 22
1868.....	92	“ “ “ 33
<hr/> Total.....		670
		<hr/> Total....181

The general principle of North Germany holds good for Hanover, both province and city. The mother and father, and, if necessary, the township they or she come from, are responsible for the care of the child. Thus of all the illegitimate children born in the city of Hanover, but few belong to the city and have a claim upon the care of the city authorities. And of the few hundred infants or children in charge of the city, but a small percentage are illegitimate. Further, of 192 children taken in charge in 1868, but 66 were under a year. Thus the statistical importance of these figures is but very trifling. The smaller the number of nurslings to be disposed of the easier the task. They are farmed out, the babies, if possible, sent to a nursing woman, and usually to the country. The results are, in this part of the country, for the few infants concerned, almost as favorable as for those born in wedlock and raised by their parents. But those who are in charge of their mothers, and are farmed out by them to be brought up by hand, fared very badly. The same industry of killing infants systematically is also known to exist. The police, as our official informant told us, had taken pains to ascertain the places in which a large number of such infants perished.

At Berlin, Prussia, the number of new-born infants abandoned and found is very small, seldom exceeding ten a year. In consequence of the strict law compelling mother, father, village, town, or district to take charge of their own legitimate or illegitimate infants, but very few in proportion are under the care of the community at large. Thus it

is that the mortality of the illegitimate infants left under the care of their mothers is reported as frightful. There is a sort of superintendence, or rather an attempt at knowing the result of such care; but very little is officially known concerning the exact conditions and mortality of these "Halte-kinder," as those infants who are given out by their own mothers are called. Those who are in charge of the city fare better, especially since the rearing of the infants in institutions has been given up. The "orphan asylum" in Strahlau strasse is used at present as a depot, in which rarely more than a few dozen infants and children can be found simultaneously. The infants are farmed out in the city (1,500) or in the country (500) at some distance, some a hundred miles, from the city. After they have passed the time in which the mortality is necessarily large, they are admitted into the "orphan asylum" at Rummelsburg, one of the suburbs, where about 500 children are kept until they are fourteen or fifteen years old. At that age the boys are apprenticed out. The girls remain another year in the institution, and are taught housework before they are provided with places in private families. A certain superintendence is still kept up. Especially the girls appear to have been well watched. It is known that, of 52 girls discharged from Rummelsburg from 1860 to 1863, 3 became prostitutes in after-years (5.8 per cent); and of 136 discharged from 1864 to 1867, 6—viz., 4.40 per cent. There are, besides, private institutions containing a larger total of children (800, not infants) than Rummelsburg, with the same object

and similar results. A peculiar feature of the raising of the Berlin infants is the combination of official and private superintendence. A large number of benevolent persons about the city, mostly of the best and most educated classes, have placed themselves at the disposal of the authorities for the purpose of watching the farmed-out infants. The whole city is divided into a number of "orphan districts," each containing a number of names of superintendents. Every person is entrusted with the superintendence of a few, usually not more than three, "orphans." These private persons are thus clad with a sort of official authority, and the whole plan is said to work admirably. The attempt recently made by Mrs. Morgenstern, one of the best known and most active ladies in the city of Berlin, at raising infants in an institution, appears to work badly. We have seen her institution in the Belle Alliance strasse. During its first three months in 1869 it had admitted 29 infants. Nine had died, and a few more were almost moribund at the date of our visit. They were all bottle-fed, in a healthy part of the city, in a large garden. It was summer, and the infants were out of doors a great deal. What the mortality must necessarily be in winter time can easily be concluded. Still, the results of the institution, if still in operation, are not known to your Committee.

The following are the instructions to the mothers of such children as are fit objects to receive "the advantages of the *London Foundling Hospital*." The committee of Governors meet every Saturday morning at 10 o'clock, at the Foundling Hospital, to

receive and deliberate on petitions praying for the admission of children. Children can only be received upon personal application of the mothers. Petitions must set forth the true state of the mother's case, for if any deception is used the petition will be rejected and the child will not be received into the hospital. No application can be received previous to birth nor after the child is twelve months old. No child must be admitted unless the committee be satisfied, after due inquiry, of the *previous good* character and present necessity of the mother, and that the father of the child has deserted it and the mother ; and also that the reception of the child will, in all probability, be the means of restoring the mother to a life of virtue and the paths of an honest livelihood. Persons who present petitions to the committee must not apply to any governor, or to any officer or servant belonging to the hospital, on the subject on any pretence whatever ; but they themselves must attend at 9 o'clock on Saturday morning at the hospital with their petitions. All of which will be considered in rotation whilst the petitioners are expected to remain in attendance. No money is received for the admission of children, nor any fee or remuneration allowed to be taken by any officer of the hospital on pain of dimissal ; and, indeed, any person who shall be known to offer the same will subject her petition to rejection—the officers and servants of the hospital having been instructed to acquaint the committee whenever such offer is made. The children of married women and widows are not admissible into this hospital. The petition is to be written

out on the following plan : 1. Name of petitioner. 2. Place of residence. 3. Petitioner's age. 4 and 5. Day and month on which the child was born. 6. Male or female. 7. Father's name. 8. His trade or occupation. 9. Place of residence when first acquainted with petitioner. 10 and 11. When the mother last saw him (day and month). 12. What has become of him.

A few days after their admission the infants are sent to the country, where they remain until their fifth year. The wet-nurses receive an extra gratification when the child, after a year, is in good health. The death rate in the first year is said to be 20 per cent. Having attained their fifth year, they are returned to the institution in Guildford street, where they are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and the English High Church catechism. The girls are placed out, at the age of fifteen or thereabouts, as domestic servants. They are apprenticed to the parties taking them until they are twenty years of age. An outfit of clothes, of the estimated value of five pounds, is given with them, but afterward they are provided with everything, in sickness and in health, by the persons to whom they are apprenticed. These parties must be of the Protestant religion and housekeepers, keep two servants (including the apprentice), and not let lodgings, and give two references as to responsibility. All applications must be made to the matron, at the hospital, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, between the hours of 10 and 2 o'clock ; and in case the parties are married, they must both attend to see the girl before the formal application is made to the com-

mittee. The girls are not placed with persons living a considerable distance from London, nor with single gentlemen. Indentures can only be cancelled by the mutual consent of both parties; but, from whatever cause the apprenticeship may terminate, clothing to the above value must be returned with the girl. The boys are placed out, at the age of fourteen, generally as mechanics. They are apprenticed to the parties taking them until they are twenty-one years old. A premium of ten pounds, one-half payable on the execution of the indenture, and the other at the end of the first year, and an outfit of clothes of the estimated value of five pounds, are given with them. During their apprenticeship they are to be provided with everything, in sickness and in health, by the persons to whom they are apprenticed. These parties must be of the Protestant religion and housekeepers, and give two references as to their responsibility. All applications to be made to Mr. Twiddy, at the hospital, on "Thursdays and Fridays, between the hours of 3 and 5 o'clock."

The whole doings of the "Foundling Hospital" of Guildford street are summed up, for one year, in the following figures:

Children remaining, 31st December, 1867.....	463
" received in 1868	63
	—
	526
Imbecile, deformed, or invalid adults, etc., supported by the hospital, 31st December, 1867	15
Under training at the Home and Colonial School Society. .	1
	—
	542

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Children apprenticed or placed out in 1868.	30
“ restored to their parents.....	2
“ died in the country.....	14
“ remaining in the hospital on December 31st, 1868.	295
“ at nurse in the country.....	185
	<hr/>
	526
Imbecile, deformed, or invalid adults maintained by the hospital on December 31st, 1868....	12
At the Training College at Brighton.....	1
Removed from the list of invalids, and supported out of the Benevolent Fund	3
	<hr/>
	542

At the termination of the apprenticeship the institution considers its mission as ended. If the children have gone through it with credit, they are to receive a premium of five pounds, a prayer book, and the order of once a year to say a prayer of thanks in the chapel of the institution. Sickly and feeble ones, who are unfit to learn a trade or business, are supported by the hospital funds, and are employed as servants in the hospital.

Reclamations are but very rarely allowed. As soon as the infant is admitted, and before it is sent to the country, it receives, at being baptized, a name different from that with which it was received. Henceforth the mothers are permitted to inquire after their offspring every Monday, but they do not know the names they have in the institution, only their number being known. The children are rarely returned to their relatives. The cases in which inmates of the institution, or former inmates, are made acquainted with their true names, are but few indeed.

Such is the institution, as it exists and is at present managed, in Guildford street. It is meant to exclude the infants, not to receive and raise them. Noble Captain Thomas Coram would not recognize his own institution if he came to life again. The fact that after Parliament had, in 1754, donated a yearly sum of ten thousand pounds and admitted every child offered, all at once, during four years, fifteen thousand little ones were delivered and ten thousand died—a fact which is easily explained by the incomplete arrangements for the sudden increase in numbers—has been the cause why British conscience prefers, up to this day, to let them die out of sight. As long as the grounds of the “Foundling Hospital” in Guildford street look well kept, as long as the Sunday service in the large hall of the house is crowded by a self-complacent audience of the well-dressed better class and aristocracy of London, and the silver plates of the doorkeepers are filled to their utmost capacity with the contributions every visitor is expected and urged to give, it appears to be fully satisfied. The crowds of ladies and gentlemen thronging around tables at which a few hundred English children are taking their public Sunday dinner, appear to go there for the purpose of complimenting themselves and each other on the bountiful manner in which Old England takes care of her indigent and young. The numberless who are not admitted, or kept out by hard and inhumane rules, are not taken into consideration. Moreover, even those who are sustained in the institution do not fare very well. The philanthropic visitor who goes on Sunday to see the insti-

tution, attend the service, and watch the public feeding, like the proceedings in a zoölogical garden, involuntarily comes to the conclusion that the children are retained there for nothing but the show of philanthropy, for no other education but Sunday choir singing and—withering. The girls are never, until their final discharge, permitted to leave the walls and grounds of the institution; the boys, twice a year. Thus it is that, according to the careful report of a special commissioner, Mr. Wrottesley, but very few attain a medium height.

The cruelty and hypocrisy of a legislation like this of London on the admission or raising of infants is best shown by their results. Mothers know that if they “drop” children they are harshly punished, without the chance of benefiting their offspring. Thus “child-dropping” of living children is but rare in London. The records of the Metropolitan Police District of London, which have been kindly placed at my service by the authorities, exhibit the following small numbers for the larger portion of the millions called London: In 1864, 23 living children were found abandoned; in 1865, 22; in 1866, 30; in 1867, 39; in 1868, 35; in 1869 (January–March), 9.

The explanation of these small numbers is exhibited by the following figures. Of dead (murdered) infants in the streets of the same district there were found 225 in 1864; 169 in 1865; 237 in 1866; 173 in 1867; 170 in 1868; 26 in 1869 (January–March). These figures do not prove a great success in encouraging morality amongst English society, which is the outspoken object of the laws in

reference to the rearing of the poor young. Great Britain appears to have more infants than it means to be embarrassed by; and Guildford Street Foundling Hospital is the proof of its anxiety for the indigent young and its own respectability.

Fortunately a correct appreciation of the necessities of infancy and childhood is understood better in a large portion of Great Britain than in the metropolis. A large number of reports on the "boarding-out system" yields a convincing evidence of its appropriateness and success. We take a pleasure in crediting much, or most, of our knowledge on the realization of the boarding-out system, as far as Great Britain is concerned, to Florence Hill, "Children of the State: The Training of Juvenile Paupers," London, Macmillan & Co., 1868; and William Anderson, "Children Rescued from Pauperism; or, The Boarding-out System in Scotland," Edinburgh, John Menzies & Co., 1871.

In 1828—according to Florence Hill, page 118—was originated in Dublin, by three Protestants of very humble position, an orphanage for the fatherless of their own faith. Until that period such bereaved little ones had frequently found a refuge in the numerous institutions established by benevolent Roman Catholics; but in these, not unnaturally, conversion to the creed of their benefactors became, if not absolutely a condition, generally a consequence of the children's admittance; and to provide for their education in the religion of their parents, the Protestant Orphan Society was founded. A *penny-a-week* subscription was set on foot by the suggesters of the scheme (in Ireland a common and,

as it appears to us, a touching mode of raising funds for charitable purposes, including, as it does, the offerings of the lowliest), and with the humble sum of threepence they commenced in November, 1828, their operations. Difficulties, at first appearing almost insuperable, were by energy and perseverance surmounted ; money flowed in apace, and the Archbishop of Dublin became the patron of the Society, while the Provost of Trinity College and the Dean of St. Patrick's accepted the office of vice-presidents. Twenty-four destitute orphans were selected as the first recipients of its bounty, and a plan was adopted for training its wards which has ever since been pursued. No vast and imposing building was erected, swallowing up the funds of the institution and accumulating the children in unwholesome numbers ; but the orphans were sent into the country to board in the families of respectable Protestants, usually laborers or small farmers, the moral or religious character of the foster-mothers being duly ascertained.

The children were also taken under the voluntary supervision of the Protestant clergymen of the district in which they were located, with whom the committee of the Society constantly corresponded concerning their welfare, and through whom all payments to nurses were made ; and to these three safeguards—the respectability of the foster-parents, the frequent visits of inspectors, and the constant friendly surveillance of a resident clergyman—were soon added yearly, and, if occasion required, still more frequent, visits by three members of the committee.

The sums paid by the Society to the nurses were originally £4 per annum for children under two years of age, and £3 10s. for all above that age. These were to cover the expense of food, lodging, washing, and education—the Society providing clothing. Subsequently these amounts were raised to £5 for children under one year of age, and £4 for all above; the Society paying 5s. per annum to a neighboring school for each child able to attend.

A considerable number of the subscribers had desired, when the association was formed, that a house should be taken as a dwelling for the orphans; and consequently a very careful investigation was made into the relative merits of the two schemes. The inquiry resulted in the conviction *that the cost of the children maintained in a house apart would be three times that of their support in families*; while the moral advantage of replacing them as nearly as possible in the circumstances appointed by Nature—where, in the circle of an industrious family, they would be trained by example as well as precept in habits of activity and labor—was believed to afford an equally strong motive for adopting the boarding-out system.

There appears to be a growing feeling against orphanages at home and abroad. “Une grande question a été mise à l’ordre du jour d’une importante assemblée, qui doit se tenir dans le courant de cette année en Hollande, ‘Le peu de succès qu’obtiennent les orphelinats,’” writes Monsieur John Bost in his last annual report of his marvellous institution at Laforce, in France, where orphans form one of the many classes of the bereaved and

the afflicted whom he takes under his benevolent care and teaches to be mutually helpful.* He argues, however, that unless every orphan can find a home in a family, orphanages are “*une déplorable nécessité*”; but he urges in eloquent and touching language the importance of rendering life in such institutions as little distinct as possible from that of the outer world, and shows how this is accomplished at Laforce.

A burial place† for those of the orphans who may die in Dublin was granted, unsolicited, by the incumbent of St. Catherine's. The spot he gave is close to that where, having just laid the body of a friend in its last resting place, and deeply moved by the destitute condition of his children, three humble tradesmen devised the Protestant Orphan Society. A suitable inscription on the tombstone placed in memory of the orphans first buried there records the origin of the association. It has indeed become a mighty tree from so small a seed! The provincial branches, as we learn from the annual report issued in March, 1866, have increased to thirty. They have 2,208 orphans under their care, and have placed out in the world 5,376; 1,817 orphans have shared the bounty of the parent society, of whom 453 children are now under its charge; 831 have been apprenticed, and 428 have been returned to friends whose circumstances had sufficiently improved to authorize the restoration.

The mortality of the Dublin orphans, calculated in 1862 upon several preceding years, is, according

* “*Les Oeuvres de Laforce*,” London, Nisbet & Co., 1867.

† Florence Hill, p. 131.

to the eminent statistician, Dr. Neilson Hancock, slightly under 1 per cent per annum, the average national rate for their age being about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.* Let us contrast this with the deaths for the same period throughout Ireland in workhouses, which, for children under sixteen, was about three times the national rate, while in Cork Workhouse this was multiplied ten times; and in North Dublin Union the mortality of children under two years amounted to nearly 100 per cent. "In other words, children under two years of age were not likely to live more than ten months in the house."† No wonder the guardians of that Union urged the non-admission of such children, "as it would be nearly certain death to receive them."‡

About nine years ago§ a similar orphanage, called St. Brigid's, was established by a Roman Catholic lady in Dublin, with the warm approval of the Roman Catholic archbishop, for children of that faith. Placed to board in respectable country families, they are constantly visited by the conductors of the Orphanage and watched over by the priest of the parish in which they dwell, and at a suitable age they are apprenticed to trades or service. Within seven years of the commencement 500 children had been taken in charge, of whom only three or four had turned out ill, while 200 were "already working for themselves at trades, at ser-

*"The Mortality of Children in Workhouses in Ireland." By W. Neilson Hancock, Esq., LL.D. Dublin, 1832.

†Ibid.

‡Ibid.

§1859. Florence Hill, p. 135.

vice, or growing up in the families and as the sons or daughters of the foster-parents.”

The systematic attempts at realizing the boarding-out system made in England are but few. The results, however, of those trials which have been made by Mrs. Archer, of Swindon (Florence Hill, p. 176), Mr. Armistead, of Cheshire (p. 184), Miss Boucherett, of Lincolnshire (p. 190), by the Guardians of Leominster Union, and by the Guardians of Eton Union (p. 206), are very encouraging indeed.

The very best and most impressive results, however, have been obtained in Scotland.

In 1864 the *Workhouse Visiting Journal* printed an abstract of answers to questions submitted by it to Mr. Greig, clerk to the Edinburgh Parochial Board, upon the system adopted by that body in respect to the orphan children under their care; and the document has been since reprinted in various publications. We are enabled,* by his courtesy, to give the following fuller information, brought down to the end of 1866:

“*Report by George Greig, Inspector of Poor for the City Parish of Edinburgh, as to the mode of dealing with Orphan Children in that Parish.*
1866.

“The pauper children of this parish were formerly maintained in an institution called the Orphan Hospital, apart from the poorhouse, but so dissatisfied was this Board with the results, that about eighteen years ago they resolved to

* Florence Hill, p. 159.

board the children with families in the country, where they might have the physical advantage of the country air, as well as the moral one of being separated from bad associates and brought into contact with people of good character. This plan has since been followed by all the larger parishes in Scotland; the number sent out at present by the parishes of Edinburgh and Leith being upward of 700, by Glasgow somewhat more, and by Dundee, Aberdeen, and other towns, in proportion to their population.

“With the view of securing proper supervision in carrying out the family system, this Board appointed an assistant to the inspector, whose sole duty it is to superintend the children boarded out, both boys and girls, and to find out good nurses for them.

“They are boarded with cottagers, farm servants, or tradespeople, and not with persons who make the care of them their only task.

“Preference is given to people of character who have a steady income apart from the allowance for the board of the children, and who will receive and treat them exactly as members of their own family; and it is found that when the children are sent out young, they learn to call the parties to whom they are sent father and mother.

“They acquire toward them the feelings of children, and the result generally is that the nurses acquire for them a parental affection.

“In selecting nurses for the children the assistant inspector visits the parties who agree to take them (and there are generally plenty of applicants),

and makes inquiry in the neighborhood as to their character ; inspects the house as to its accommodation, dryness, and ventilation ; ascertains if there is a well-taught school in the neighborhood ; and it is only after being satisfied on all these points that children are sent.

“He afterward visits the nurse as well as the school at least eight times in the year ; satisfies himself that the children are healthy, sufficiently fed, cleanly kept, and their education attended to ; and, in addition, the inspector and members of the Board, in rotation, visit all the children boarded out once a year.

“People of excellent moral character are generally got to take charge of the children ; but, should inferior persons be perchance selected, the close superintendence prevents them from doing injustice. Should neglect occur in any case, however, the children are at once removed ; but although there are about 300 children boarded out, and some years ago there were 400, I have only had occasion to remove children, in consequence of neglect on the part of their nurses, on three or four occasions during a period of five years.

“The localities selected are generally small villages at a distance of ten, fifteen, or twenty miles from Edinburgh, and of convenient access by railway ; and never more than four children are sent to one family.

“In consequence of our requiring the regular attendance of the children at school, the teacher has to fill up a schedule—showing their progress, and each day’s absence with the reasons given—which

forms a check on the nurse. Our children are, consequently, the most regular in their attendance; are generally the best scholars, carrying off a large share of the school prizes; and when sent to service prove as good servants as the children of the cottagers or workpeople not dependent on the rates usually do—certainly not inferior, and many of them rise to positions of trust. It is a rare thing for either a boy or a girl, who has been brought up by the Parochial Board in this way, to become chargeable to the parish in after-life, which was not the case as to the children who were brought up in the hospital in town.

“In a report by Mr. Adamson, the able inspector of Glasgow, issued in August, 1864, reference is made to results equally satisfactory in the case of the children who had been boarded out and brought up in the same way by this Board.*

“The Board pays to the nurse, for each child sent to board, two shillings and sixpence a week, which covers board, lodging, washing, and mending. The Board, in addition, provides clothing, which is sent from the poorhouse, of a good quality, and not uniform in color or kind; and also pays the fees to the schoolmaster, the same as paid by the children of the district. In cases of sickness, which is rare, the nurse obtains the services of a medical man in the district, for which the Board pays. The total amount of all these charges for each child for the past year, including the salary of the assistant inspector and all expenses connected with the children, was £8 10s. 10d.

* The boarding-out system has been pursued in Glasgow for upward of a hundred years.

“It is the nurse’s duty to take the children with her to the church which she attends, to see that they attend the Sabbath-school and study their lessons, and, in short, to deal with them in every way as if they were her own; and with the view of extending the benefits of the domestic influence on the children beyond the period when the Board has charge of them, we get the nurses to find apprenticeships for the boys and service for the girls, as much as possible, with employers in their own neighborhood, so that the children may have an opportunity of visiting their nurses on the Saturday afternoons, or at other times when they get liberty; and, in these cases, the nurse continues her care over them, and washes and mends their clothes when necessary, for which they remunerate her.

“On such visits the children are received with friendly welcome, as if it were their home, and they thus contract the habit of returning to it at intervals, assured of meeting with advice in difficulties, sympathy in distress, and heartfelt congratulations on success.

“In the event of a boy or girl having to leave their service, through sickness or otherwise, they return to their nurse’s house, and are often supported there for months without any remuneration ever being asked from the Board. Should the nurse, however, not be in a position to do this, or wish assistance, the Board readily grants it, but this is seldom asked.

“Many cases have come to my knowledge where the child has in after-life contributed toward the support of the nurse.

“The children are sent to board at all ages, but *the younger they are sent so much the better.*

“*If sent when at the breast, the nurse cannot help having a strong affection for them.* In those cases where the children are ten or eleven years of age before they have come on the parish, and whose previous training has been vicious, the same good result cannot be looked for ; still it is found that a religious education, kindness, and the moral influence of their new friends and associates do much for them.

“Cases have occurred where such have acted well so long as under these influences, but on return to town, and meeting old friends, have fallen back into their old habits ; hence this class are sent to the most distant localities, and situations found for them, in the district if possible, so that they may not be again brought into contact with their old associates.

“The children thus brought up are not only well educated, but understand and can discharge the various duties of a household, which children brought up in a school or hospital know nothing of ; hence our children are preferred, as servants and apprentices, to the children brought up in the various hospitals in this city at a cost of as much as £50 a year each.

“We are still compelled to have a number of children in the poorhouse, when their parents are in jail or in sickness, and therefore the chargeability merely casual ; and amongst them we daily see the evil effects of having a large number of such children congregated together, as not only do

they encourage each other in present evil, but the fact of being inmates of such a place has a debasing influence on their after-life.

“The evils attending the rearing of children in workhouses are well described in an article in the *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society* for September, 1861. It states : ‘The main objections to workhouse schools are, 1st, the keeping up a condition of pauperism in the children by the associations of the workhouse ; 2d, the impossibility of teaching useful knowledge to fit the children for practical life, without the contamination of the adult. Communication with the adults, and the influence of the low tone of morality of pauperism, are inevitable. The mere learning in school is insufficient to overcome it, and the teachers strive against it in vain.’

“The danger here adverted to, of keeping alive the spirit of pauperism, is one which this Board has had particularly in view, and against which it has felt too many precautions could not be taken. In a large adjoining parish in Edinburgh, the managers or guardians some years ago arranged a plan by which they personally visited the children, after they had been sent to service, and endeavored to exercise a care over them ; but it was found that the personal intercourse thus maintained by these parochial gentlemen had the effect of keeping up in the children a feeling of their connection with the parish, and a depressing consciousness of dependence which was quite opposed to individual effort and consequently to success in life.

“In fact, the blight of pauperism extended over,

and deprived of beneficial influence, all these friendly communications—often well meant and attended with no small trouble on the part of the gentlemen who engaged in it—and the plan had consequently to be relinquished. The cause of this want of success it is easy to discover. It was that these gentlemen, in a higher station, having no connection with the children except that they were members of the parish Board, instead of forming a link between the child and the kindly influences of home which the nurse can do, kept up a connection between the child and its former condition of pauperism, degrading it in its own eyes, and, when known to its fellows, subjecting it to their scorn.

“When a child is sent young to the country, or has been there for some time, and is taught to look on its nurse as its parent—I say parent, as we transact with the wife as the party having immediate charge, but the husband takes an equal interest in the child and is equally regarded by it—and when the nurses are themselves quite independent of the parish, the child regards itself as a member of the family; its connection with the parish is neither felt nor understood; and I have often found that the only idea it had was a vague one that the assistant inspector, who called so frequently, had somehow some charge over it, but it had no idea that it was a pauper, and would treat with the same horror and contempt as is entertained by the respectable working people a proposal to remove it to the workhouse.

“This removal of the consciousness of a state of dependence on the parish, and the engendering of a

spirit of self-reliance which is cherished by the class with whom the children are brought into contact, is a sure means of preventing them from lapsing into a state of hereditary pauperism ; a result which can be obtained by no method that I am aware of but the family system adopted by this Board.

“In adopting this system, in restoring, as it were, the lost link, and giving these poor children new parents and homes, with their sacred influences and endearing ties and associations, this Board is persuaded that they are acting in accordance with a law ordained by Him who has framed the moral government of the world ; and the results obtained in the moral elevation and excellent education of the children, in adapting them for the duties they will be called on to discharge, in the position of life they are likely to occupy, have been such as might have been expected from a plan thus solemnly sanctioned.”

“Confirmation of this favorable report by Mr. Greig—so far as she has had opportunities of observing—is communicated to us by a lady who for many years has been led by her philanthropic labors among the working people of Edinburgh and the adjacent counties.”

The favorable statements of Mr. Greig are fully corroborated by Mr. Anderson. According to him:

If the problem, how to deal with juvenile pauperism, is ever to be solved, an effort must be made to strike at the root of the evil in a way which has not yet been done. What is required is a system which will purify the stream at its fountain-head,

instead of merely attempting to do so half-way on its course. The ragged and industrial schools have done, and are doing, a great work ; but that work would be more effectually accomplished—if, indeed, it would then be necessary at all—were a system adopted by which the children could be reserved till they reach the age at which they now enter the ragged and industrial schools, and before they are found guilty of crime. Powers ought certainly to be obtained for the protection of children who are growing up, not only in ignorance, but under a system of slavery, both of body and mind, which it is deplorable to contemplate. Many of them are groaning under an iron heel of despotism ; crushed to the ground by those who have, but do not deserve, the name of parents ; subjected to hunger, cold, disease, and privations of every kind ; and consequently their moral faculties vitiated and their physical powers degenerated and depraved.

One great advantage of the boarding out system is that the children are lifted above the atmosphere of pauperism, their ideas are gradually dissociated from those pauperizing tendencies which would otherwise cling to them, and in the school they are put on an equal footing with the children of the other classes in the village. It is a remarkable fact that, out of the entire number of children brought up in this way during the last thirty years, the percentage who have turned out bad is almost *nil*. If the boarding-out system has a weak point, it is this, that the parochial authorities have no power to refuse to give up a child if claimed by its father or mother, let them be ever so worthless—and that,

too, when it is perfectly well known that the child is being drawn down again into the gulf from which it had been taken. It would surely be a desirable thing to allow the Board to have the power to refuse to give up children to fathers and mothers who are by habit and repute criminals or drunkards, and to devise means to compel such parents to contribute to the support of their offspring.

The number of children boarded out* is about 320, of whom 114 are orphans, 57 deserted by their parents, and 149 separated from their parents.

The "nurses" to whom they are entrusted are householders belonging to the class of respectable working people. The period during which children may be boarded out is from their birth until they are thirteen years of age. In adverting to some of the principal features of the scheme, I would first draw attention to the healthy condition of the children as compared with the same class living in the wynds and closes of Edinburgh. At a low estimate the death rate of children under thirteen years of age living in the Old Town of Edinburgh is about 35 in 1,000 per annum, and in one district, according to Dr. Littlejohn's report, it is 152 in 1,000 under five years. Now, the death rate of the "city children" boarded in the country has, during the last three years, been only 3 in 1,000 per annum!—a very striking fact, which ought not to be lost sight of. In the course of my visits I found it almost invariably the case that children who had been resident in the country for a year or two were strong and healthy, but that when they were at first sent

*Anderson, p. 21.

out they could take scarcely any food and were suffering much from the neglect as well as from the viciousness of their parents. The answer generally given by the "nurses" to my inquiries as to the health of the children was : " Ay, they were weak, puir things, when they cam' oot here, but they're as strong noo as ony o' the rest."

One thing which was impressed upon me more than almost anything else by my visits was the importance of rescuing the children at as early an age as possible.

The rules adopted by the Edinburgh City Parochial Board are of a very simple description ; and it is perhaps to their simplicity that much of the success of the plan is due. In selecting good "nurses" the Board inquires very minutely into the character, habits, and circumstances of applicants. There are always a number of applicants who have no steady income of their own. This class of people is avoided, and the Board prefers those who are not dependent on the children's allowance. The former class, rather than answer some of the inquiries put to them, sometimes withdraw their applications. Certificates of character from respectable persons in the district must invariably be produced by the applicants. The questions put to them vary, but generally they are as follows : Name, age, occupation, locality, and address. If married, name of husband, and income. If they have children, number and ages, distinguishing males and females. Religion, and what church they attend. Number of apartments in house, and its sanitary condition. Number of beds. If the applicants keep lodgers.

Distance from school. If the teacher and school are well spoken of in the locality. If the girls are taught knitting and needlework. If there is a Sabbath-school in the district, and who superintends it. If the applicant is a widow she is asked if she has brought up a family of her own ; if so, where they are, and what they are doing. If they give her any assistance. What is her present means of living, and if she gets relief from the parish. When the Board are satisfied that they have obtained a suitable applicant in a convenient locality, the inspector visits the house, sees whether it is dry and well ventilated, examines the state of the bedding and accommodation, arranges as to the separation of the sexes, and makes special inquiries in the district in regard to the applicant's character. The oldest boys and girls are sent to crofters, by whom they are employed on their little farms. All the children, before leaving the poorhouse to be boarded out, are examined by the medical officer, and certified as being in a fit state to be sent to the country. The average cost of 347 children boarded out during the year ending May 14th, 1870, was as follows :

For board.....	£6 10 0
For education.....	0 10 9½
For clothing.....	1 11 7
For travelling expenses and superintendence.....	0 9 6½
For medical attendance....	0 0 6½
	<hr/>
	£9 0 5½

The parish of St. Cuthbert's commenced the system of boarding out children in 1843, and has had,

for the last twenty years, an average of about 300 a year so boarded out.

The results, as corroborated by twenty-six teachers, to whom Mr. Anderson refers, are also, with high eulogies, confirmed by a number of prominent gentlemen, the names of whom are given on p. 103. It is with pleasure, therefore, that our author refers to the favor the boarding-out system is *meeting with in England* lately. The objections which have been urged against the system by its opponents in England are completely answered by the success which has attended it in Scotland. In fact, the Poor Law Board of England have recently issued an order giving power to "Unions" to send children beyond their own bounds. As to this order, Mr. Anderson expresses his conviction that it would have been better without the restriction that no child under two years shall be boarded out. The Edinburgh Board have found that the sooner children are sent to the country the better. There are many cases in which children, when only a few days old, have been entrusted to foster-mothers—"a plan which has hitherto worked admirably."

"In conclusion," says Mr. Anderson, "I would express a hope that I have in some degree, at least, shown that one of the most promising questions connected with social reform in the present day is that relating to the boarding out of pauper children. It may be said to lie at the foundation of all real efforts for the diminution of pauperism and crime, in respect that it lays the axe to the root of these evils; and I accordingly hail with much satisfaction the gradual extension of the sys-

tem in England. It has been practised in Scotland for many years in a quiet and unostentatious manner; and now that public attention is being drawn to it, we may look for still greater results than have hitherto been produced. In some districts reforms may with advantage be introduced; but the principle on which the plan is based is natural and true, and I have no doubt that any defects attaching to it will soon disappear. The boarding-out system takes under its control children who are, to all appearance, bound to grow up criminals if left to themselves, places them in decent families, provides them with education, obtains situations for them, and watches over their interests with a tender care until they are able to take their part in life and fulfil their duties as respectable members of society" (l. c., page 114).

In the same favorable manner Florence Hill expresses herself in the closing chapter of her book. She says, page 233: "The boarding-out system has been pursued long enough and under sufficiently varied circumstances to reveal its excellencies, and for us to estimate how far the defects disclosed are capable of removal or amendment. In Ireland, as a purely voluntary enterprise, it has attained marked success and won general approval; while in Scotland it has been widely adopted, and entirely administered by the parochial authorities. Of their satisfaction with it, under both a moral and pecuniary aspect, we are informed; and we have seen that it has obtained also the qualified approbation of disinterested but peculiarly competent observers, who are of opinion that an admixture of voluntary

agency, including some additional supervision by ladies, would render it still more efficient.

“We could not conscientiously advocate the boarding-out system unless it be accompanied with constant and active supervision. This, the authorities assure us, is amply exercised by officials in those districts where the plan has originated with Boards of Guardians. But, zealous and kind-hearted as the officers appointed to this important duty may be, it must be performed by them to a greater or less degree as a matter of routine ; the time of their visits of inspection may generally be calculated, and these cannot be sufficiently frequent to prevent, at any rate, the *possibility* of ill-usage. Moreover, a man, however thoughtful for the children’s welfare, does not possess the knowledge of their wants and difficulties which comes to a woman almost intuitively ; and to *supplement*, therefore, official authority by the *friendly* watchfulness which a woman of superior social position, residing *within easy reach* of the orphan’s home, can exercise, appears to us the keystone of the system, insuring to it public confidence and permanent success.

“An objection to the boarding-out system to which we have already referred—namely, the insufficiency of good country homes—is, we ourselves believe from inquiry and observation, ill-grounded ; and the experience of those benevolent persons who have introduced the plan in various parts of England strengthens that conviction. All who are intimately acquainted with our humbler brethren (whose generosity in giving far exceeds that of the

wealthy classes) are aware it is no unusual circumstance for a child who loses its parents to be spontaneously received into another family. Again, it must be remembered that where Mrs. Archer's scheme* is adopted, the very presence of the orphan will tend to improve the cottage in which it is placed, by laying it open to the inspection of a person whose good opinion the cottager will be anxious to preserve; while the orphan will in some respects enjoy even an advantage over the offspring of the cottager, namely, in its regular attendance at school, and still more in the fact that it is an object of interest to a neighbor of superior position who is responsible for its welfare, and able to remove it if the circumstances of its home are unfavorable."

As we intend to draw our own conclusions toward the end of this report, we take the liberty of here inserting the closing page of the meritorious book from which we have been so largely quoting (Florence Hill, page 273):

"The 'family system,' in any form, is, we are aware, at present unrecognized by the regulations of our poor-law,† and may be unknown even by name at the Central Board. Most respectfully, but most earnestly, do we ask for it their consideration. To it is attributed by M. Demetz a large measure of that success in reclaiming the young which has made his noble institution an exemplar to the whole world. Shall we be satisfied to achieve less for pauper children in England than is accomplished

* Enforcing superintendence and schooling.

†Has been recognized since, as stated above in our extracts from Mr. William Anderson's book.

for criminal children in France? Mettray has converted to useful citizens 94.47 per cent of the youths she has restored to liberty. Let us strive to show no less fair a return for all we expend in money, time, and care on our *children of the State*!

“We conclude with a summary of the principles proved, we submit, in the foregoing pages.

“1st. Our poor-law implies a right to aid from the State in all incapable of supporting themselves.

“2d. The State, in granting such aid, obtains a correlative control over the recipients.

“3d. The vast power she thus takes to herself furnishes her with means for the reduction of pauperism which her own interests, apart from higher motives, render it imperative on her to employ.

“4th. These means lie, as regards the young, in so training them as to impart the desire and the capacity for self-support.

“5th. One condition essential to this end is their complete separation from adults of their own class—such separation being impossible where the school forms part of the same building with the work house.

“6th. That must be the best method of training children which is appointed by Nature—namely, under family influences; and when artificial methods are employed, they should be made to approach the model as closely as possible.

“7th. The method practised in our pauper schools is contrary to that established by Nature, and fails signally in producing good results.

“8th. The ‘family system,’ as pursued in industrial homes, and as still more precisely followed in

‘boarding out,’ while it secures separation from adult paupers, conforms, as nearly as practical obstacles permit, to the course prescribed by Nature herself.

“9th. Its success has been proved by long and varied experience.”

The general rules for the care of abandoned children in France are, in their majority, those laid down in the decree of the Emperor Napoleon of January 19th, 1811. This important law is as follows :

1. The class of children whose education is obligatory for public charity comprises foundlings, abandoned children, and orphans.

2. Foundlings are those whose parents are not known, and who are picked up at any place, and are carried to such institutions as are provided for their reception.

3. These institutions must be provided with a turning box for their reception.

4. Every district (“arrondissement”) is to contain at least one institution of that kind. The apparent age of the newcomers, peculiar marks, and clothes must be recorded.

5. Abandoned children are those whose parents are known, or who have been supported by strangers and finally abandoned.

6. Orphans are such as have neither father nor mother, and no support whatsoever.

7. New-born foundlings are to have a country wet-nurse at once ; until this can be done, they are to be fed on the bottle or nursed by a wet-nurse in the institution.

8. The infants receive the necessary clothing and remain with the nurse until the termination of the sixth year.

9. After the sixth year they are apprenticed with agriculturists or mechanics. The price of boarding will be reduced with every successive year until the twelfth, when they will be at the disposal of the Minister of Naval Affairs.

10. Sickly and crippled children, who cannot be boarded out, will be retained in the institution and employed at work for which their age enables them.

11. The hospitals destined for the reception of foundlings are to find the expense of their clothes, food, and education, and of the general administration.

12. Four millions of francs yearly are set aside for that purpose. Any deficit will be covered by the general hospital and municipal funds.

13. Wages cannot be paid except on the presentation of a certificate, as to the life of the nursling, of the mayor of the community the infant is boarding in.

14. Twice a year an inspection is to be held by a special commission, a physician, or the vaccinating surgeon.

15. Foundlings and abandoned children are subject to the supervision of the administration of the foundling hospitals.

16. The children, being received and educated at the expense of the commonwealth, are at the disposal of the Empire. After the Minister of Naval Affairs has taken charge of them, the authority of the administration of the foundling hospitals terminates.

17. After their twelfth year, unless the Empire has disposed of them, they are to be apprenticed somewhere—the boys with mechanics or artists, the girls with housekeepers, seamstresses, in shops or factories.

18. The apprentice agreements require money neither for master nor apprentice. The master has a claim on gratuitous service until the twenty-fifth year of the apprentice; the apprentice on board, lodging, clothes.

19. The agreement becomes null and void in consequence of conscription into military service.

20. Such children as cannot be apprenticed because of their state of health, nor find any place outside, are retained inside the institution. For them separate shops are required.

21. The children cannot be reclaimed by their parents and returned to them, unless, if able, they refund all the expenses incurred for the foundling. Such obligations as the Government has agreed to previously cannot be annulled by the fact of reclamation.

22, 23. Persons who habitually abandon children, and carry them to the foundling hospitals, are subject to legal punishment.

Still the special rules of admission of the foundlings of Paris (or France) have been greatly changed from what they were at the time of the indiscriminate receiving by means of the wheel ("tour"). A great many questions are asked concerning the abandoned infant, its parents, and the person presenting it, by a commissary of police.

1. Concerning the abandoned child: Name and

surname, place and date of birth, police bureau where it has been inscribed. Has it been baptized? At what church? Legitimate or illegitimate? If the latter, is it acknowledged by father and mother? If it is unknown, describe clothes and particular marks; particular circumstances connected with the abandonment.

2. Concerning the parents: Name, age, occupation, place of birth, and present residence of the mother. Is she married and living with her husband? The latter's name, age, occupation, place of birth, and present residence. If she is not married, does she give the name of the father? If she does, what are his name, age, residence, occupation, earnings or property? Is she abandoned or supported by him? Does she live with him? Precise time, reason, circumstances, and purpose of the mother's arrival at Paris. Where has she resided and what has she been engaged in for at least the last year? Papers, letters, certificates to sustain her declaration. Has she her own furniture or not? Amount of the rent she pays. What does she live on and what does she earn? Has she parents living? Their names, occupation, and residence. Are they able and willing to support her? Has she children besides the one she means to abandon? What has become of them? Is this the first she abandons? Has she been advised not to abandon her infant, and has she been given to understand that she may receive support for the purpose of raising her child? Has she been directed to the Central Office to obtain such support? What answer has she given? Has she been told that she

will never know where her child will be, and that she will hear of it but once in three months? Has she been told of the legal punishment of false declarations?

3. Concerning the person presenting the child : Name and surname, occupation and residence, circumstances inducing him (her) to present the child at the institution.

Unmarried mothers who express their willingness to nurse their own infants have a claim upon aid from the public funds. Thus many nurslings have been retained by them. This proceeding is by no means a new one, inasmuch as early as in the eighth century Archbishop Darthæus established the above rule in the newly-established foundling hospital at Milan. The National Convention passed, on July 28th, 1793, a law to the effect that every mother who promises to care for her own infant has a right to be aided by the community. This law was suspended by an act of December 17th, 1797, constituting general foundling establishments, and by the law of January 19th, 1811, directing the institution of foundling hospitals with turning boxes ("tours") and concealment of maternity. Still, the rule was again subverted in favor of the mothers willing to nurse their babies, and in consequence of the public institutions becoming crowded. The plan has acted successfully. In 1848 fifty-two out of the eighty-six departments of France awarded the gratifications to mothers; thirty-four refused it. In these fifty-two, with a population of 18,866,030, and with 44,976 mothers aided in the above manner, there

was 1 foundling to 420 inhabitants, and 1 abandonment to 49 births. In the thirty-four, with a population of 15,328,845, and no aid to the mothers, there was 1 foundling to 296 inhabitants, and 1 abandonment to 32 births. The aid granted is by no means of the same nature in all the cases. Some mothers are supported until they can resume their occupation. Some are aided with money for two years, the amount being half of the legal boarding money of the foundlings. Some are supplied with wet-nurses, on the promise of refunding the expense in instalments. A great many mothers who cannot keep their infants with them, and still do not wish to give them up entirely, avail themselves of this facility.

Duties of nurses and keepers to the infants and the administration :—The nurse is obliged, if she takes charge of the infant before weaning, to wet-nurse it ; to provide a separate bed ; not to wean it before being authorized to do so by the proper medical officer ; to have it vaccinated, if vaccination has not been performed before, within three months, but not within the first three weeks after receiving the infant ; to notify the medical officer in case she falls sick or gets pregnant ; and, in case the infant is taken from her within the first month, for any reason whatsoever, to be responsible for the corresponding amount of her wages, she having been prepaid for the month when the infant left the hospital for the country.

Duties of nurses and keepers from weaning to the fourteenth year :—To provide a separate bed ; to send to common school after the sixth year ; to

provide instruction in the first principles of religion ; to send to church on Sundays and holidays ; to notify the authorities within twenty-four hours if eloped.

Duties of the same at every age :—Treat him (her) with mildness ; notify the physician of any sickness within twenty-four hours ; on no condition leave him in charge of another person without permission ; take charge of no other child without permission ; look for all the necessities of the child, and for its clothes, etc. ; the clothes and linen given by the institution must be reserved for his own use exclusively ; if the child is remanded by the institution, deliver him and his property at the local office ; notify the proper officer three months in advance of any intention of returning the child ; notify of death within twenty-four hours, and return neck band and property within a week ; present child and property any time any of the authorities may require it ; in case the child's parents turn up, never correspond with them, and inform the authorities ; teach him a trade or agriculture ; never send him away without due notice to the authorities ; inform them of bad conduct ; in case of elopement attend to the necessary steps and inform the authorities.

Duties of the administration toward the nurses and keepers :—Regular payment, at their place of residence, and within two months after the quarter has elapsed, of wages, gratifications, and indemnities ; delivery of the necessary clothes in conformity with the law ; gratuitous medical treatment and medicine for the child in case of sickness ; payment

of an indemnity for the years in which schooling is obligatory.

Extra remunerations are paid with every new lot of clothes delivered by the administration, for keeping the child regularly at school, for regular religious instruction, for keeping him to his twelfth year, for teaching him afterward a trade or agriculture.

The recognition of the infants sent to the country is rendered possible by their wearing a neck band of a certain description. It must be worn to the sixth year, when it is cut off and returned to the institution. Sickness may necessitate its removal, but under the supervision of the medical or other authority only. In case of death it has to remain until official inspection has taken place. No payment is made when the neck band is removed without authority. After the sixth year the descriptive list of the child is deemed sufficient for its recognition.

Reclamations are not very frequent. In all France it takes place once in 100 cases. But one out of ten reclaimed children is legitimate. The majority of these are boys. The number of reclamations amounted to 3,322 in 1851, 3,737 in 1852, 4,390 in 1853.

The institution "Dei Trovatelli all' Annunziata," at Naples, was founded in the thirteenth century.

It is connected with an educational establishment, and costs annually 400,000 lire. The average number of foundlings admitted yearly, by means of the wheel or turning box, amounts to

1,900. The contrivances by which the mothers or other depositors enable themselves to recognize the infants at some future period are simple enough, and very much like those resorted to in London in those times when the old method of receiving foundlings was not yet abolished ; the modes of future recognition consist of broken coins, verses written on paper, etc. Every foundling is given a number, which is fastened to his neck by a band. At Rome he has the sign of the cross indelibly marked on his leg. The infant gets baptized within twenty-four hours. Two are given in charge of one wet-nurse, who has the privilege of nursing but one after the third month. Before 1862, when the institution was controlled by the clergy, more regard was paid to baptizing than to feeding ; three or four infants being in charge of a single nurse. Sick infants get transferred to separate wards. A pretty large number of healthy infants is retained in the institution besides ; in 1865 there were from 220 to 230. They get nursed fifteen or eighteen months, and are entrusted to nuns in an adjoining building for further care. There are many women in Naples who are very desirous of receiving foundlings for wet-nursing gratuitously, although they are limited to this one nursling, and, moreover, controlled and superintended by the institution. Undoubtedly they mean to prevent pregnancy by protracted nursing. Thirty-seven per cent of the nurslings are cared for in this manner, 19 per cent are paid for (in the first year about one dollar and a half, in gold, per month), and 140 per cent are taken charge of by the parents. Only about 12 per cent are re-

turned to the institution ; the rest are retained by those having them in charge. Boys in particular are retained, as they can be made available after their seventh year. Such children as remain in, or are returned to the institution are transferred, when seven years old, into the orphan asylum (*gran stabilimento dei poveri*). There they are schooled and taught a trade. The girls have a right to remain through lifetime ; they may leave, however, when of age, resigning their claims upon the institution. After their seventh year they learn the elements and handiwork, work in common in large rooms, especially on sewing—two-thirds of their earnings belong to the institution. . But few of these girls get married. In the foundling institution of Florence every healthy infant is farmed out. Every nursling pays ten francs a month ; those who raise a boy to his eighteenth, or a girl to her twenty-fifth year, are remunerated with an extra gratification of 58 francs. The girls are given 235 francs when they get married ; there were, from 1855 to 1865, 1,403 who obtained this sum. In the same period 22,864 infants were transferred to the institution. Mortality was as follows :

	Males, per ct.	Females, per ct.
In the first year of life	31.63	28.63
In the second year of life.....	17.63	18.79
In the third year of life.....	1.08	0.91

There were in the kingdom of Italy (1867) 83 foundling institutions, besides a number of small

institutions in small towns—viz., rooms in which a wet-nurse is waiting for and on the newcomers, who are transferred at once into the charge of proper officials. Where funds are insufficient for the purpose the town is responsible. The average number of foundlings left in charge of the institutions, from 1863 to 1866, amounted to 33,222—viz., 3.85 per cent of the whole number of births. Of illegitimate births there were but 1.23 per cent besides. Thus the number of illegitimate births is greatly less than in Germany or France. Nor ought it to be overlooked that part of these 33,222 foundlings are legitimate children.

At Rome the foundling institution is connected with the large institution for the sick and poor, "*Lauto Spiritu*." The mode of admission is as easy as at Naples.

Very few babies are retained in the institution, usually but 65 or 70, and these are sick ones. When farmed out the infant under a year pays one scudo (one dollar); from the second to the tenth year three-quarters of a scudo. With people who mean to retain the children beyond that time special agreements are made. Girls who do not find proper employment are at liberty to return. From 1830 to 1840 the average number of foundlings was 834; from 1860 to 1865 it amounted to 1,116. A large portion of those given in charge of the institution are born in wedlock. Dr. Erhard, a practitioner at Rome, told me that the delivery of their offspring to the foundling institution by their parents was quite common. As a rule the mother, or more frequently the father, would carry the

baby toward the capital from any part of the territory in a basket on top of the head. In certain way-stations a woman is appointed to nurse the baby, and every official and most women of the neighborhood are able and willing to direct the carrier and his living freight.

The annual reports of the foundling institutions of St. Petersburg for 1857 and 1865 yield some very interesting facts. The foundling institutions consist of the following establishments :

1. The department of the nursery, with offices, residences of officers and attendants, etc.

2. Twelve country districts to which the children are sent.

3. A hospital in city for the crippled and incurable.

4. A country place, being the summer residence of legitimate children. Infants are admitted any hour, by day or night, with the exception of such as suffer from small-pox or have passed the first year. Of children older than a year, only such are admitted as are found in the streets or presented by the police. The inspector in waiting takes the necessary notes concerning the age of the infant and religion, but on nothing else. Within six weeks it may be reclaimed, but after this time it belongs to the institution. The number of the foundlings in 1864 amounted to 6,181, the legitimate children 422. Of the children—3,276 males, 3,327 females—1,329 died, viz., 21.1 per cent. Of those 5,971 entering the institution within the year the mortality was 22.1 per cent. A large ma-

jority of the infants admitted were in their first week ; 55 were admitted in a moribund condition.

The foundling hospital of Moscow admitted from 1862–1864 35,387 infants—male, 17,446 ; female, 17,941. In the same time the number of deaths amounted to 10,008—male, 5,278 ; female, 4,730. Many were moribund when admitted ; thus 521 died in the very first hour. The average mortality was, in 1862, 30.78 ; 1863, 27.38 ; 1864, 26.60—total average, 28.28 per cent. The largest number which can be accommodated in the institution is, or ought to be, 650. The smallest number ever present in these three years was 76², the largest 1,386. The wet-nurses are selected from those offering their services. Of 57,206 applications 34,209 were found available. Thus there were 1,088 wet-nurses less than infants. This disproportion, though by no means anything like what we are in the habit of seeing in our country, is the result of the system through which they are obtained. The 20,000 women confined in the Vienna and Prague lying-in hospitals are admitted on the promise of serving four months in the foundling hospital when required. Thus there is always a sufficient number of nurses in readiness for the new-born and foundlings until they are transferred to private parties in the country.

The rules and regulations, mostly old, to a smaller portion proposed in the course of last summer, of the foundling institute of Lower Austria (at Vienna) are the following :

The object of the foundling hospital is to procure

to those illegitimate children who are admitted an equivalent of maternal care, without regard to religious persuasion, and to preserve the reputation of the mothers as much as possible. As far as the interest of the institution will permit, it has to supply the medical profession with vaccine virus, to instruct young physicians in vaccinating, and to supply the public with reliable wet-nurses.

Requirements for admission are the declaration of the community to which the infant or mother belongs, of the religion, and the proof of the infant being illegitimate in case permanent admission is wanted. Admission is either permanent or temporary, gratuitous or not. Admission is free for those infants who have been born in the lying-in asylums, but had to be transferred to a hospital because of sickness; exceptionally also for those whose mothers intended to ask for admission in the said lying-in asylums, but were confined before they expected to be so. In very rare cases illegitimate children are received of those mothers who have been confined outside the clinical lying-in asylums. The other parts of the empire are liable to refund the expenses for those children whose mothers do not belong to Lower Austria, or to take charge of the infants if or when they are fit to be transported.

Admission, non-gratuitous, is granted to all illegitimate children born outside the asylums, or in the paying departments of the same. Temporary non-gratuitous admission is granted when the mothers were received in the lying-in asylum after their confinement. Payment is required from the relatives

or townships of the mothers, or when the mothers of legitimate or illegitimate children have fallen sick or died.

Maternity is kept secret, the name of the mother being known to the authorities only, with the exception of those cases in which the other provinces are liable to pay the expense incurred by the admission and rearing of the infant, or where the child has to be transferred to its own province after the normal term of ten years ; or where the child wants information concerning its family after the eighteenth year of life, or in case of courts of justice inquiring for information. On no other condition, except on presenting the certificate of admission in the hands of the mother, is any information given. The institution takes charge of the child until the tenth year. The individual villages and towns are responsible after this period.

The children are kept and raised either inside the institution or outside. Inside the institution the infant is to have a wet-nurse. Therefore every woman obtaining free admission to the lying-in asylum is bound to serve as wet-nurse during a period of four months or less if her child dies. During that time, as a rule, the nurse has her own child ; in case of particular fitness she will have to nurse two infants, never more. The women, moreover, are obliged to work on the premises.

Children with contagious eruptions are transferred to a hospital. Such nurses as take particular pains with an additional child besides their own have a claim upon an extra gratification. Outside the premises of the institution care ought to be

taken that, if possible, mother and child be not separated. For this reason the child is to be trusted either to its own mother, or to such relatives or friends as are designated by her, or to strangers selected by her. Under equal circumstances, breast milk is preferred to artificial feeding ; in case the former is declared an absolute necessity by the physician, or if the party live in Vienna, or at some other place equally unfavorable, parties with breast milk only are accepted. When the mother has no recommendation to make concerning the future abode of her child, it is selected by the physician or director of the institution. Strangers expecting to take charge of an infant have to present certificates of their general character, their circumstances, etc. ; mothers retaining their children have to prove their domicile and give information of any moving. Such parties as are known to be particularly trustworthy and attentive may be permitted to take charge of several children ; but these must be of different ages and sexes, to prevent mistakes as to identity. The determination of the time when the infant is to leave the institution depends on the physician or director. Board is fifty-four Austrian florins per year. Besides, there is a quarterly premium of three florins for the first two years. Superintendence of the infant is entrusted to the mother and relatives in Vienna, and in the other large cities to an authorized physician ; in the country, to the authorities and benevolent associations.

The foundling is removed from under the care of a party when the said party, promising to raise an infant on the breast, resorts to artificial feeding ;

when the parties are known to treat and feed the child badly, or when they live in injurious places; and further, when the children are found in the charge of other persons than those to whom they have been given in charge. In this latter case the courts of justice may inquire into the reasons for such transfer. Every mother has a claim upon her child any time she means to do without the help of the institution; as long as the child is in the charge of the institution the proper authorities are its legal patrons. Wet-nurses cannot be permitted to accept a private place unless they have served two months in the institution. A wet-nurse can be exchanged but once, and within a week only.

Admissions into the foundling hospital, Vienna:

1860,	8,842..6,278	died before the end of tenth year.		
1861,	9,654..8,135	“	“	“
1862,	8,935..7,375	“	“	“
1863,	9,408..7,615	“	“	“
1864,	9,795..7,870	“	“	“
1865,	9,434..7,187	“	“	“
1866,	9,294..8,087	“	“	“
1867,	8,399..6,309	“	“	“
1868,	8,148..6,815	“	“	“

The percentage of deaths is by no means a small one; and can be estimated only for the several years. The death rates for the several years are not given. If we compare the results of general statistics, according to these the mortality of the Vienna foundling hospital in the first year cannot be less than forty-five per cent of those admitted. It is to be hoped that this mortality will be greatly reduced by

a stricter adherence to the plan of supplying the farmed-out children with breast milk than was done formerly. Since the extensive and thorough discussion of the subject in the Vienna Medical Society, more than a year ago, a favorable change will probably have taken place, the more so as the Government has given its particular attention to the cause of the foundlings. The above rules and regulations are in part the result of the efforts and changes of last year.

The vast majority of the foundlings in Prague are those who have been born in the lying-in asylum. The foundling hospital receives the infants nine days after their birth, and from there they are distributed over the country. Under ordinary circumstances they are to remain in the province of Bohemia, so that the necessary superintendence by the authorities and physicians is not rendered too difficult. The attempts at raising the infants in the institutions have been given up. In the city of Prague the infants are to remain only when no party can be found in the country. Relatives of the infant, when willing to take charge of the same, are preferred ; but they are not paid. Nor is its mother to retain the infant. A woman from the country offering her services to one of the new-born foundlings must be within seven months after her own confinement, and less than forty years old. She may have another foundling in case her own child dies. A woman who loses two infants in one year is not trusted any more. A woman may have charge, besides the infant, of one or two other foundlings ; she must

present certificates as to her reputation and circumstances ; she is examined as to her physical fitness ; she is paid monthly, and receives an extra gratification when the baby is eight months old. No baby is given out before it is nine days old. In winter they are not sent to any great distance ; feeble infants remain in the institution.

With their sixth year they must be sent to school. Schooling is free. At ten years of age the obligations of the foundling institution cease, and the village or town of the mother is the custodian of the child. The parties with whom the child has been hitherto may retain it until its twentieth year without charge, but after that age the foundling has the disposal of his own person and work.

The own mother may reclaim the foundling in case she can prove her ability to support him. The parties in charge can be permitted to adopt him ; so can strangers who prove their good standing and circumstances, and on the condition either of the mother's consent or the child being ten years old.

Among the rules for bringing up illegitimate children in Munich are the following :

Police superintendence takes place in the case of all those who are entrusted to strangers, while the law permits of no such control when the child remains in charge of the mother or other relatives.

It is a misdemeanor, which is punished, to take charge of strange children under eight years without the approval of the police authorities, or after such permission has been retracted. Permission is refused unless the character, circumstances, and

locality of the petitioner are satisfactory. Most of the infants who are given in charge are not nourished by breast milk ; therefore certain dietetic rules are enforced. Cellar and attic lodgings are excluded. The infant boarder is to have a bed and a bedstead of its own. No woman obtains permission when her own children are neglected, cachectic, or afflicted with contagious or exanthematous affections, or when she is sick or weakly. More than one child (two up to the age of a year), never more than four, are allowed where circumstances appear very favorable. Persons who have lost several boarders are suspected and generally deprived of their license. Some may, when their boarders died when very young, retain the license for a boarder of two or three years. No child is given in charge of strangers without having been examined by a medical man. Thus many a lurking disease, as rachitis, hernia, etc., is early detected. In case of sickness medical attendance must be resorted to immediately.

According to Farr, of 392,224 children born in England in 1867, there died before the end of their first year 65,464—viz., 16.69 per cent. According to the scrupulously conscientious Prof. Ritter, of Prague, the mortality during the first year of legitimate and illegitimate children born alive in 1855-61 was 25.36 per cent in the Austrian Empire ; in Hungary alone, in 1862-65, 24.95 per cent. In Berlin, according to Chamisso, the mortality of all the infants born alive from 1816 to 1841 was 22.7 per cent up to the end of the first year, 33.5 of

the third, 36.9 of the fifth. The rate was lower in 1842-60, but in 1861-66 it was 28.4 per cent up to the end of the first year. In the following years it did not increase, and was even less in the fourth and fifth.

According to the Thirty-first Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England, abstracts of 1868, London, 1870, the death rate amongst 100 infants born alive in England was in 1868 :

	M.	F.	Total.
Within the first twelve months.....	16.8	14.7	15.5
At 1-2 years.....	5.2	5.1	5.19
From 0-5 years	27.5	24.7	25.6

The percentages of deaths within the first year of life, in proportion to the number of total deaths, have been, according to Wappæus, in

Ireland	1845-1854	38.80
Bavaria.....	1835-1850	36.31
Saxony	1834-1849	36.20
Austria	1849.	27.39
Russia	1816, 1825, 1834, 1849	26.31
Sardinia	1828-1837	26.22
Tuscany	1852-54	25.71
Netherlands.....	1848-53	23.90
England	1850-54	23.49
England	1834-44	22.06
Sweden	1841-50	23.14
Denmark.....	1845-54	21.55
Holstein	1845-54	19.60
Norway.....	1846-55	19.05
Belgium	1841-50	18.77
France.....	1853	17.70
Hanover.....	1853-55	17.61
Sleswig.....	1845-54	16.90

In all the above countries there were in the periods mentioned altogether 15,204,185 deaths. Of these there were 3,887,094 deaths of children born alive who did not reach the end of their first year. Thus the proportion of the infant mortality under a year to the total mortality is 25.57 to 100. Besides, there are 4.75 per cent of still-born; thus a total mortality, still-born included, under a year, of 30.32 per cent.

In the above countries and periods 20,646,144 children were born alive. Thus of all the children born alive 18.83 per cent did not reach the end of their first year.

The mortality of the second up to the fifth year is much less. The death rate (in proportion to the total deaths) is 15.03 per cent. Thus of all the deaths in the above countries and periods the rate up to the fifth year amounts (including still-born) to 45 per cent.

A comparative table, taken from Oesterlen, exhibits the following figures relating to the mortality of the first five years :

Of 100 children born alive, died, in

	0-1 year, still-born included.	1-5 year.	0-5 year.
Bavaria, 1835-51.....	32.81	7.71	40.52
Sardinia.....	22.68	13.86	36.54
Prussia.....	22.07	11.86	33.93
Netherlands.....	23.10	10.44	33.54
Belgium.....	19.44	12.30	31.74
France, 1853-54.....	20.13	11.35	31.48
England.....	19.29	10.94	30.23
Holstein.....	17.91	9.36	27.27
Denmark ..	18.60	7.85	26.45
Sweden	18.43	7.60	26.03
Norway.....	14.91	7.08	21.99
Average.....	20.85	10.03	30.88

In our own city of New York the rate of mortality is as follows. Of all the deaths taking place there were

	Under 1 year.	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	Total under 5 yrs.
1866	28.97 per cent.	10.15	4.07	2.32	1.65	47.17
1867	32.23	12.06	4.56	2.03	1.61	52.99
1868	32.77	11.60	4.22	2.41	1.49	52 50
1869	29.42	11.55	5.14	2.91	2.07	51.09

Thus we have an average of 30.85 deaths of infants under a year amongst all the deaths taking place in New York City, exactly the same percentage laid down in the above large lists collected by Wappæus. As the number of our births is not sufficiently established to justify any comparative statistics to be based upon it, we may safely assume the death rate of 18.8 within the first twelvemonth, amongst 100 born alive, to be correct for the city of New York. If we shall compare this average death rate with the results of our public institutions, as found below, we are safe in saying that we build a great many costly palaces and spend enormous fortunes every year to no other purpose but to fill our graveyards with our infants and depopulate the city.

The death rate of that class of children from which the abandoned inmates of public institutions or those turned over to the care of society are recruited, is naturally much higher than the average mortality. Many of them are illegitimate, had poor care before they were abandoned, lived in crowded tenements or large cities, etc.

Common sense, experience, and statistics prove that the chances for life are less favorable for illegitimate and poor infants than for such as are born in wedlock and better circumstances. Even before birth the former are exposed to more dangers than the latter. The still-births in the former class are much more numerous. The statistical records of every country are unanimous in confirming that truth. The normal development from conception until birth depends on the health of the parents, in particular of the mother. Therefore the viability of infants born in wedlock and of healthy and careful mothers is greater than of those born in the inverse conditions. Poverty, ignorance, injurious mode of living, sickness, immorality, misfortunes, fear of detection, are just so many causes of death to the child, both before and soon after birth.

The following tables may illustrate the subject. There was amongst the births, 1850-1854, a percentage of illegitimate births, in the district of

Liegnitz, Germany	12.1
Cologne, "	5.1
Aix-la-Chapelle, Germany	2.8
Trier, "	3.8

	Percentage of still-births.		Mortality under a year of those born alive.	
	Legitimate.	Illegitimate.	Legitimate.	Illegitimate.
Liegnitz.....	5.4	7.2	25.4	36.2
Cologne.....	5.1	7.2	14.6	23.1
Aix-la-Chapelle..	4.0	5.9	15.9	23.4
Trier	4.0	6.3	13.9	23.0

Of 100 births there were still-births in Berlin :

	1865.			1866.			1867.			1870.		
	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.
Leg.	4.47	3.52	4.09	4.05	3.56	3.87	3.80	3.40	3.60	4.52	3.75	4.16
Illeg.	7.93	7.11	7.53	7.85	7.34	7.60	8.09	7.27	7.69	7.94	6.06	7.23

In Breslau :

	1865.			1866.			1867.		
	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.
Legitimate.. . . .	3.47	2.92	3.22	3.96	3.12	3.55	3.75	2.61	3.21
Illegitimate.....	4.41	2.43	3.47	4.09	3.27	3.67	4.18	5.56	4.88

In Vienna :

	1869.		
	M.	F.	Total.
Legitimate	4.60	3.82	4.23
Illegitimate.....	4.81	4.32	4.65

Besides, the greater mortality amongst illegitimate children born alive is an established fact. The same causes act both upon the foetus and the born children.

There died in	Of 100 legitimate.	Of 100 illegitimate.
France....1840-57	13.9	30.3
Prussia ....1820-34	17.1	23.6
“ 1816, 25, 34, 43, 49	16.5	30.2
Berlin ....1820-34	19.8	36.8
“1843	19.3	33.9
Sweden ....1841-50	14.4	24.8
Stockholm .1841-50	22.2	42.2
Bavaria....1835-51, male	33.4	38.3
“1835-51, female	27.9	33.8
Austria1851	22.9	35.1
Saxony.....1847-49	23.0	28.9
Average	21.8	32.5

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A very careful table is the following, prepared by Prof. Ritter, of Prague.

Deaths at Prague, 1868, of 100 born alive :

	Legitimate.			Illegitimate.			Total.		
	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.
1 month	7.51	6.98	7.28	4.70	20.22	21.00	14.66	13.47	14.07
2 months.....	2.83	2.94	2.88	2.04	2.25	2.15	2.43	2.54	2.48
1 year	26.05	21.19	23.67	28.12	26.86	25.53	27.09	23.97	25.53
2 years.....	7.22	6.87	7.04	1.25	1.12	1.12	4.21	4.04	4.12
3 "	3.75	2.70	3.30	0.39	0.31	1.79	2.06	1.53	1.79
4 "	1.61	1.87	1.74	0.28	0.31	1.02	0.94	1.10	1.02
5 "	1.84	1.44	1.68	..	0.12	0.85	0.91	0.79	0.85

From birth to five years :

40.58 | 34.13 | 37.36 | 30.05 | 26.08 | 28.06 | 35.17 | 31.48 | 33.42

Of 100 deaths :

1 month	3.92	3.57	3.72	11.54	9.80	10.68	15.46	13.32	14.40
2 months.....	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.08	1.09	1.09	2.56	2.58	2.57
1 year	13.62	10.68	12.16	14.93	13.02	13.99	28.58	23.70	26.15
2 years.....	3.77	3.46	3.62	0.66	0.54	0.60	4.44	4.00	4.22
3 "	1.96	1.39	1.68	0.21	0.15	0.18	2.17	1.54	1.86
4 "	0.84	0.94	0.89	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.99	1.09	1.04
5 "	0.96	0.72	0.84	..	0.06	0.33	0.96	0.78	0.87

From birth to five years :

21.17 | 17.21 | 19.20 | 15.99 | 14.24 | 14.96 | 37.16 | 31.45 | 34.16

The number of still-births is twice as large in illegitimate as in legitimate cases ; in the first three months, in many countries, mortality is twice as large ; up to the fifth year the mortality of illegitimate compared with that of legitimate is 10.5 : 6. At Berlin, from 1813 to 1820, twenty per cent of infant deaths occurred in illegitimate children, while their birth rate was but sixteen per cent of the legitimate.

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Deaths under a year in 100 born alive in Berlin:

	1865.			1866.			1870.			Grand Total.
	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	
Legitimate	30.76	26.88	28.87	27.16	18.54	22.92	37.16	31.52	34.34	37.89
Illegitimate . .	48.98	40.18	44.71	33.59	28.23	31.35	61.91	55.08	58.50	

In Breslau :

	1865.			1866.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Legitimate	32.21	23.10	30.69	38.90	33.28	36.12
Illegitimate.....	52.64	57.42	57.97	50.68	45.00	47.76

In Bohemia, 1869 :

	Legitimate.			Illegitimate.			Total.		
	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.
1 month.	12.01	9.21	10.65	19.04	15.70	17.40	13.02	10.16	11.58
2 months	2.82	2.21	2.65	4.49	4.26	4.35	3.06	2.45	2.82
1 year.....	26.73	21.79	24.33	38.95	34.36	36.69	28.49	23.64	26.13
2 years.....	5.17	5.38	5.28	5.00	5.01	5.01	5.15	5.33	5.23
3 "	2.46	2.64	2.55	2.17	2.20	2.18	2.42	2.57	2.49
4 "	1.65	1.53	1.54	1.15	1.12	1.14	1.49	1.47	1.48
5 "	1.09	1.11	1.70	0.72	0.75	0.74	1.03	1.06	1.05

Circumstances, occupations of parents, care and food, are known to have a considerable influence. Of 100 deaths at Paris in 1817-24 (those who died in hospitals not included) :

	0-1 year.	0-10 years.
Occurred in the first "arrondissement"—comfortable.....	17	37
In its richest portion.....	14	32
In the twelfth arrondissement—poor.....	25	50
In Monuffetard street—very poor.....	32	59

In London (1844) of 100 infants born alive to the gentry, 20 died ; to the working classes, 50. In the aristocratic families of Germany, 5.7 per cent died within five years ; amongst the poor of Berlin, 34.5. In Brussels the mortality up to the fifth year was 6 per cent in the families of capitalists, etc., 33 amongst tradesmen and professional people, 54 amongst workingmen and domestics.

A few more figures and we shall have done. Of 100 new-born the death rate amounted to

0-1 year.	0-2 years.	
23	47	in the foundling hospital of Lyons— breast milk.
53	65	in the foundling hospital of Paris—mixed feeding.
63	71	in the foundling hospital of Rheims— artificial food.

Amongst the above figures relating to Lyons there are numbers of babies nursed by their own mothers, and such as were nursed by strangers.

The mortality of those nursed by their mothers, up to the end of the first year, was 2.8 per cent.

The mortality of those nursed by strangers amounted to 30 per cent.

Even under the most favorable circumstances the difficulties of raising the infants are very great. Whitehead found, of 952 mothers observed in the Child's Hospital of Manchester, but 629 in good health, 420 secreted a copious and healthy milk for a sufficient period, 95 proved but tolerably competent and 95 incompetent wet-nurses.

The mortality of foundling hospitals has always been very unsatisfactory. Before the end of their first year, of 100 abandoned infants, there died in

Paris	1789	60
Vienna	1811	92
Madrid	1817	67
Dublin	1791-98	98
St. Petersburg ..	1772-84 ..	85.6
“	1785-97 ..	76.2
“	1830-33 ..	50
Brussels	1811	79
“	1817	56
Belgium	1823-33 ..	54
Moscow	1822-31 ..	66
Irkutsk .....	.....	100

Improvements have taken place since greater care was taken, the food of better quality, wet-nurses engaged, the infants farmed out. But still, at Bordeaux, the mortality differed greatly in the foundling hospital and the population in general.

The following statistics are also conclusive:

The mortality of infants under a year, amongst the workingmen of Lyons, is at least 35 per cent, according to Devilliers; in well-to-do families it is 10, and in well-to-do agricultural districts.

The average mortality of infants under a year is 16 in 80 of the departments of Normandy, and 15 amongst all France.

The mortality of all the new-born in France is 16 per cent up to the end of the first year, according to the official investigations of Heuschling. Compare with this percentage the following table containing the mortality of children less than a year old in four districts of the Département d'Eure et Loire.

	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.	1859.	Average.
Chartres.	30.32	25.23	23.86	22.88	22.43	22.21	25.63
Chateaudun.	26.46	30.59	29.46	30.28	28.49	36.40	30.28
Dreux.	23.18	27.32	23.17	31.95	24.90	35.21	27.62
Nog. le Rotron.	51.67	56.53	47.20	59.06	50.42	43.00	51.33

And, further, remember the fact that the mortality of the infants born in these districts is much less than this average, thus rendering the average mortality of the little Parisians sent in charge there much more fearful. We can easily understand, then, the following results of official investigations.

Of the infants sent out by the "general direction of nursed children," and completely watched, the mortality under a year is 17 per cent, but 1 per cent more than the above average mortality.

Those sent out on the same conditions, by private offices, and not watched, exhibit a mortality of 42.

The "assisted" infants of Paris, sent out by the above "general direction," on the same conditions, but always in poor health, have a mortality of 55.

Amongst the foundlings of the Département d'Eure et Loire which are bottle-fed, and frequently many by one woman, the mortality is from 60 to 75.

Thus the difference in the care taken of and the food given the little ones gives rise to a difference of from 17 to 75 per cent in their mortality. As absolute necessities, Mr. Husson urges the shortening of the stay of the infants at the general hospital, and their transfer to the country, by means of doing away with many administrative formalities; further, to omit vaccination at such early period of life, and just before starting, and to increase

their comfort while travelling. He urges it the more as the foundlings form more than one-half of the assisted children, altogether 2.03 per mille of the whole inhabitants of France.

Mortality at Bordeaux in 1,000 children born alive :

Age.	Foundling hospital.	Total population of France
0- 1	517	232
1- 2	122	96
2- 3	40	47
3- 4	15	26
4- 5	14	15
5- 6	4	10
6- 7	2	7
7- 8	8	5
8- 9	3	4
9-10	4	4
0-10	729	446

Of 1,000 children in France 554 reached their tenth year ; of 1,000 foundlings, but 271.

Wasserfuhr has the following statistical contribution to the same fact. Of 1,113 children of Stettin, North Germany, who died before the end of their first year, there were :

	Illegitimate.	Workmen	Mechanics.	Small traders.	Ill-paid officials.	Well-to-do. †	Total.
1858.....	102	166	93	112	51	14	556
1859.....	149	166	73	112	52	15	557

Of the whole population of the city 12.06 per cent

were in comfortable circumstances, 87.94 per cent were in middle circumstances or of the working classes. Of the dead children, however, but 2.52 per cent belonged to the former, 97.48 to the latter.

A further illustration is yielded by the official statistics of the Grand Duchy of Baden. The official report takes as granted the fact that the Jewish population of the country is more careful in the rearing of their babies than the rest of the population. The two classes stated enjoy the same circumstances, climate, and soil. The former lose 15 per cent of their children, the latter 26 per cent, before they reach the end of their first year.

In 100 contemporaneous births in the countries of Europe 4.75 are still-born. Of 100 deaths in the total population 25.6 take place in the first year, and from the first to the fifth year 15 more. A more accurate list of the yearly percentages is the following :

Mortality under	Per cent.	Mortality under	Per cent.
1 year.	26.5	8 years.	0.62
2 years.	5 6	9 "	0.56
3 "	2.6	10 "	0.46
4 "	1.8	11 "	0.42
5 "	1.35	12 "	0.38
6 "	0.99	13 "	0.38
7 "	0.78	14 "	0.36

Such is the average; but the differences are great. Thus in Germany the rate of mortality in the first year varies between 14 and 40 per cent. This difference is due to the degrees of general

physical and mental condition of the population. Thus, sometimes, vast differences are found in neighboring countries. As a rule poverty, brutality, and mortality go hand-in-hand. This is not more wonderful than that from century to century, with increasing civilization, mortality should have decreased and the average duration of life increased.

In the next five years mortality is less, as stated. Here, too, we meet with great differences. The average is 15. But while it is 17 in Prussia it is 8 in Baden.

To what extent external influences, management, etc., will bear upon infant mortality is shown also by the deaths amongst the foundlings of Prague, inside and outside the Foundling Hospital, within the first year of life :

Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.
1857.....	82.97	1864.....	77.52
1858.....	90.46	1865.	62.46
1859.	87.07	1866.....	60.14
1860.	86.95	1867.....	54.07
1861.....	89.71	1868.....	46.68
1862.....	88.79	1869.....	46.08
1863.....	93.19		

According to the above table the years 1857 to 1863 exhibit a frightful mortality. The history of these years yields a clue to this remarkable fact, for from March, 1857, to June, 1864, the institution was removed from the care of its former authorities and placed under the charge of the Sisters of

Charity of the order of St. Carolus Borromæus. They were paid for every child in the institution. Now, the feeding of breast children makes no expense, but wet-nurses are expensive. Therefore the house was crowded with infants, and the wet-nurses reduced in number to such an extent that one of them had to nurse three or four babies. In addition part of the house was retained for the use of the Sisters, so that finally 80 or 100 infants had to be satisfied with the space formerly occupied by 42. Thus the mortality of the hospital rose instantly from 41 to 66, and in 1862 the total mortality attained the high figure of 83 per cent. At the same time the mortality among the boarded-out children was by no means small, it being 48 in 1859. It still continued rising, being 54 in 1863, after Prof. Loeschner, a celebrated physician and humanitarian, insisted upon removing the infants to the country. His error consisted in looking for the cause of death in the crowded condition of the house only. Thus a smaller number remained, but the proportion of the wet-nurses remained the same, and consequently the mortality also. The infants sent away were in the majority puny, feeble, almost moribund, and swelled the average rate of mortality. It required some years before the effects of the former mismanagement could be extinguished.

Last in order, not least, is the question where foundlings ought to be raised—in institutions or in private families?

Places inhabited by many can never yield an at-

mosphere as fit for breathing as well-kept private residences. Moreover, young infants, in consequence of their delicate constitution and their not producing vital warmth by physical exercise, are confined to the house and room during the greater part of the year and day. Besides, offensive admixtures to the atmosphere of rooms in which many children are living cannot be avoided. Even the institutions in which adults are kept suffer from the same influences to such an extent that not infrequently the very entrance into such a place is a guarantee of imminent disease, and portions of hospitals have sometimes to be closed. Alvine discharges and urine contaminate the air of infants' wards to a considerable degree. From this source originate the numerous cases of poor sanguification, and of constitutional diseases such as rickets, scrofula, etc., even typhoid fever and scurvy. From this source comes part of the really immense mortality of foundling hospitals. Whenever the attempt is made to correct this cause of disease and death you will find that this attempt is punished at once. Ventilation is never complete except by opening windows. To relieve the wards of their unbearable stench—I advise you to visit a large, fine-looking, whitewashed, clean ward in a foundling hospital, in a nursery and child's hospital, at 6 A.M.—you open the window, and in come the enemies of mucous membranes: intestinal catarrh, entero-colitis, bronchial catarrh, pneumonia. Of 88 deaths in the Nursery and Child's Hospital, New York, more than 40 are due exclusively or partially to pneumonia. These facts

have been the cause of the universal changes in the rearing of the infants left on the hands of society in all Europe. At present the former foundling institutions are nothing but depots for temporary admission and speedy distribution about the country.

There may be drawbacks, also, as far as private boarding is concerned. But where, in such an individual case, or a number of individual cases, changes are required, they are easier to make than in institutions, which, as a rule, are more than comfortably filled.

Even if the feeding is the same in private boarding and public institutions, the results are more favorable in the former category. That a baby should live and thrive on artificial food in a private family is by no means a rare occurrence. Every attentive person, every medical man, has ample opportunities for such observations. That, however, bottle-fed babies in a public institution should survive is a rare exception. In the wards of infants' hospitals everywhere the receiving of a baby in the purely bottle-fed department is acknowledged by all as amounting to a sentence of slow death. Moreover, the only article of food without which a baby could not be kept alive—viz., milk—can be more regularly procured by the poorest countrywoman than by the richest and most circumspect institution.

Besides, the nurses of institutions having charge of a number of infants at once, by day and by night, are very apt to, and surely will, lose the self-sacrificing patience and the everlasting attention which

are absolute requisites for the sustenance of a young human being.

A task that requires all the holy instincts, the self-immolating, restless care of maternal love, is left sometimes in the hands of corrupt, lazy, whimsical, or malicious women, who make it their business to neglect their business, and are womanly and motherly only as far as they are so anatomically. It is much more probable that the poorest country-woman who takes charge of a society's child, under the superintendence of the proper authority, under the eyes of her neighbors, and with motherly feelings developed in the poorest one bound in marriage and family ties, will succeed in saving a nursing from certain death.

A further reason why infants should be raised in the country, even under equal circumstances, is the statistical fact that they will thrive better. Of 100 children born alive there died before the fifth year :

	Years.	In the cities.	In the country.	Difference.
France.....	1853-54	35.69	28.56	7.13
Holland.....	1850-54	36.25	28.90	7.35
Sweden.....	1851-55	38.86	24.50	14.36
Denmark.....	1850-54	29.66	22.68	6.98
Sleswig.....	1845-54	27.42	23.42	4.00
Holstein.....	1845-54	29.92	25.29	4.63
Saxony.....	1847-49	39.88	36.22	3.66
Hanover.....	1854-55	28.70	26.47	2.23
Prussia.....	1849	36.02	29.47	6.55
Average.....	.....	33.60	27.28	6.32

Of 100 deaths, of all ages, in England there were :

	Up to the end of the second year.	Up to the end of the tenth year.
In all England.....	31.58	44.91
Cities with 100,000 inhabitants or more.	35.12	51.39
Cities with less than 20,000.....	31.49	46 79
Manufacturing country districts.....	35.36	45.90
Agricultural districts.....	24.33	35.40

Mr. Husson urges even the shortening of the preliminary stay of the foundlings at the central depot, although a number of wet-nurses are kept there, and wants them transferred to the country instantly.

If any further proof was required it might be found in the contribution of one of the members of the undersigned committee, who reports as follows :

“ He has, during several years past, assigned a few ladies having comfortable and eligible homes in the outer parts of, and some of them completely out of, the city of Rochester, in caring for children that ordinarily would have been placed in charge of a wet-nurse, could such have been found. The difficulty in securing good and reliable nurses has induced many mothers and fathers in moderate circumstances to place their infants as boarders with these matron women, some of whom will care for from four to six children. He has thus provided for many motherless young children, with such results as to justify him in continuing this course. There is no foundling hospital in that district. Five or six years ago one was attached to the St. Mary's Hospital of that city, but was soon abandoned. In

the Rochester City Hospital, with which he has been long connected, repeated efforts have been made to have such a department instituted. He has always opposed it."

THE FOUNDLING ASYLUM OF THE SISTERS OF CHARITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Of the Foundling Asylum of the Sisters of Charity in the city of New York we can give but few statistics, inasmuch as nothing is known concerning that institution, except what has been published in a report of its doings from its opening, October 11th, 1869, to October 1st, 1871. The tables given on pages 10 and 11 of that report being very incomplete, your Committee has tried to obtain some more detailed statistics from the officers or the books of the institution, in order to lay the results of its examination before the State Medical Society. One of your Committee applied, for this purpose, to one of the lady superintendents, and was told "that there were no records, except those kept by the physician of the institution, who had a part of his books at the Asylum and a part at his own house." Requested to recommend that these books be laid open to examination, the lady referred your applicant to a reverend gentleman known as the superior of the institution. He, in turn, stated that he had "personally" not the slightest objection to such an examination of the books, but that, before deciding whether or not to permit it, he must think the matter over. Your Committee then applied to the

attending physician of the Asylum in the following terms :

“ Dr. Reynolds, 29 West 14th street, New York.

“ DEAR SIR:—As I am about reporting to the State Medical Society on Foundlings, Foundling Hospitals, etc., for which purpose I have also availed myself of the statements and figures contained in the Report of the Catholic Foundling Asylum, as lately published, I take the liberty of hereby requesting you to permit me to look over your official records.

“ Sister Irene has stated to me that the only complete records are kept by the physician of the institution, and Father Starrs says he has no objection to my so doing ; still he has not given any direct permission, evidently reserving his final decision for further consideration or your consent.

“ By informing me if, when, and where you will consent to my inspection of the records of the Catholic Foundling Asylum, you will greatly oblige,

“ Yours most respectfully,

“ DR. JACOBI.

“ 110 WEST 34TH STREET,
January 29th, 1872 ”

The answer we received, after a little delay, was the following :

29 WEST 14TH STREET.

“ Dr. A. Jacobi.

“ SIR:—The official records of the Foundling Asylum of the Sisters of Charity are in the possession of the authorities of the Asylum I refer you to them.

“ Respectfully yours,

“ J. B. REYNOLDS.”

After receiving this letter we called on the superintendent and treasurer, Sister Irene, referring her to the above letter, and requesting her to

permit us to examine the books, repeating to her, at the same time, the meaning and object of our request. She said she could not do so without first conferring with the other officers of the institution, and that she would send an answer speedily. That answer read as follows :

“NEW YORK FOUNDLING ASYLUM.

“*Dr. Jacobi.*

“DEAR SIR:—After consulting with the Directors of our institution, we see no reason to depart from our rule in your case. The published report contains an accurate statement of all matters on which you are interested.

“Yours very respectfully,

“SISTER IRENE, Treasurer.

“FEBRUARY 3D, 1872.”

We must confess that we were not aware that our interest in foundling institutions, and in this Foundling Asylum of the Sisters of Charity in particular, had been exhaustively satisfied by what the report of 1871 was willing to publish. And for that very reason, and for the information of the State Medical Society, we thought it of importance to look over the records of the institution, in order to arrive at the correct and complete statistics which the tables on pages 10 and 11 of the report do not yield, hoping that the same liberality would be extended which has always been shown by the Commissioners of Charities. The fact is, that the physician himself who writes the report states that the records of the first year had been but indifferently kept ; probably because, as he says on page 7, “when the task was undertaken, neither the Sisters nor the

physicians had any idea of its magnitude," and because "the cares and responsibilities incident to the rearing of infants were new to the Sisters."

The report, which is herewith submitted, informs us (page 11) that "up to October 1st, 1871, 2,560 infants had been left at the institution ; and of this number 1,377 were received between October 1st, 1870, and October 1st, 1871." A pretty careful report, as it appears, is given of the condition upon entrance of these 1,377. But the principal question which arises in our mind is : How many of those 2,560 infants left since October 11th, 1869, are alive this very day ? And the further question : How many of the 1,377 children left between October 1st, 1870, and October 1st, 1871, have lived any length of time after the latter date ? and "How many will have lived to see the end of *their* first year ?"

From the table (page 11) we learn that 40 per cent of the 1,377 infants left during the second year were alive at its close, October 1st, 1871 ; 4 per cent were reported discharged, and 56 per cent dead. At all events, as we have no statistics of the previous year, we have no right to assume that such of the 1,377 admitted during the year as were surviving at its close will every one live and not go to swell the percentage of yearly mortality. It is safe to assume that a large number of those admitted during the year, especially of those admitted at very early age, and living October 1st, 1871, have died since that date, or will die before reaching the end of their first year. If the records of the last two years had been carefully kept it would be found, and if the records of

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF HEALTH.

NUMBER OF INFANTS.

Present capacity of the Institution.		In the Institution Dec. 31st, 1869.		Received during the year 1870.		Placed out at nurse during 1870.		Remain- ing out at nurse Dec. 31st, 1870.		Sick be- longing to the insti- tution Dec. 31st, 1870.		Taken sick dur- ing 1870.		Received in a sickly and dy- ing condi- tion dur- ing 1870.		Received after pre- mature birth dur- ing 1870.		Died in- side dur- ing 1870.		Died out- side dur- ing 1870.		Dis- charged during 1870.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Adults.	40	20	61	727	672	353	320	257	130	14	13	198	92	206	290	58	46	304	236	106	180	98	84
Infants.																							

Up to October 1st, 1871, 2,560 infants had been left, and of this number 1,377 were received between October 1st, 1870, and October 1st, 1871. The following table will show the condition in which these 1,377 infants were received, how many are living, how many have died, and the causes of death:

Whole number from October 1st, 1870, to October 1st, 1871.	CONDITION UPON ENTRANCE.						Discharged.	DIED.		DISEASES WHICH CAUSED DEATH.									
	Good.	Poor.	Dying.	Premature.	Exposed.	Syphilitic.		Died in hospital.	Died at nurse.	Intestinal.	Pulmonary.	Broncho- intestinal.	Prematurity.	Syphilis.	Inanition.	Erysipelas.	Convulsions.	Various.	
1377	526	4:9	153	132	37	50	554	51	347	425	403	55	83	84	49	14	4	13	*

* 1 purpura hæmorrhagica; 2 basilar meningitis; 1 intestinal perforation; 1 chronic hydrocephalus; 2 measles; 1 small-pox. The figures relate only to the year from October 1st, 1870, to October 1st, 1871.

the next year or two will be correct it will be found, that, following up every single infant or child from its admission to its discharge or death, the rate of mortality given, 56 per cent, is far below the truth. A slight mistake in the account is also the following, if our way of comparing the living with the dead is the correct one : Of the 1,377 there are 51 discharged, which ought not to be counted at all. Of the remaining 1,326, 554 are alive, 41.7 per cent, and the rest, 58.3 per cent, died according to the figures of the report. As it is, and it would seem against their wish, the managers of the Foundling Asylum of the Sisters of Charity have been obliged to withdraw a number of children from the bad influences of hospital wards. They say they have been compelled to board many babies out, "as the Asylum is too small to accommodate all the children" (page 5); thus indicating their tendency of accumulating the babies within an institution. They are compelled to give up this tendency from the facts stated by the attending physician, who, speaking of the first and smaller institution, admits (page 8) that "the results of overcrowding soon became evident in daily increasing mortality." It is but fair to state as his opinion, which, however, is not borne out by facts : "Experience [of one year!] forces us to acknowledge that the chances of rearing infants in a well-regulated institution, with large, sunny, well-ventilated wards, are fully as good as in the outside nursing or boarding." And again (page 13) : "It would be unfair to attribute the larger mortality in foundling hospitals chiefly to causes to be found within the hospital. We should

consider the condition in which the infants are received." Which remark is followed by this exposition by the medical gentleman : " Some are exposed carelessly or unavoidably to cold in their transit to the hospital, entering seemingly perfectly healthy ; but in a few hours the extremities become wrinkled and shrivelled, the skin upon the hands and feet harsh and dry, feeling like thin parchment, and too large for the tissues within ; jaundice ensues and deepens day by day, while the body diminishes in weight, and the little ones quietly sleep into death."

As your Committee labors under peculiar difficulties in having nothing to lead them but one report, we again direct your attention to some figures contained therein. You will find that in the last year recorded there are said to have been 1,377 admissions and that there are 554 living. We may admit the latter, inasmuch as the financial report states (page 16) that the City Comptroller paid to the institution, as per capita allowance, \$39,084.67 from October 1st, 1870, to October 1st, 1871. The amount paid by the city to this private charity being \$8 monthly for every child they take care of, that sum covers 4,885.5 monthly or 407.67 annual boards. Thus, when we take into account that there are a great many more boards to pay in the last months for those who have not yet had time to die than in the former months of the year, the figure is herewith assumed to be correct. The low figure of \$9,815, which has been paid by the Comptroller from October, 1869, to 1870, when 1,173 infants or children were received, proves one of two things—either that

the Comptroller did not pay through all that time, or that but few babies lived long enough to swell the expenditure on the part of the city. How many of the 1,173 received in the first year have survived we do not learn; the books, as the report says, have not been well kept; but we do know from the report that 2,560 *have been received in two years, and 554 are reported as surviving. Percentage, it appears, according to "official" accounts, 21.64 alive and 78.36 dead.*

If there should be a mistake, which does not appear to be probable, it is the fault of the report and the impossibility on the part of your Committee of obtaining further details.

There is one feature in the management of the institution which is favorable—as it would seem, however (page 5), against the wishes of the managers. Those infants or children who have no room in the house are boarded out. Thus, many are under the same, or nearly the same, circumstances in which the offspring of the poor die or thrive. The few ladies of the institution cannot possibly superintend those who are boarded out, except on those days when their nurses come with them to get paid. Close supervision being an absolute necessity, although an impossibility under these circumstances, the many cases of poor, puny, ragged babies seen in the public dispensaries of the city by the attending physicians, and supplied with certificates of death by them, and with coffins and transportation by the Commissioners of Charities, are easily explained. It may also be that the impossibility of a close superintendence, from want of help, has been the cause

of the boarding-out of the infants in the city rather than in the country. Very few indeed are sent to country homes.

The mortality rates of the Infant Hospital on Randall's Island do not look promising ; on the contrary, they are bad in proportion to the poor condition in which the infants are received, and the numerous and well-known drawbacks, principally consisting in the difficulty of obtaining proper help, that institution is suffering from. The admissions in 1869 amounted to 1,278, at an average age of 4 months and 14 days. Thus the earliest period of life has but few representatives. Of the 606 admitted in the first half of 1869 but 17 remained in the house in February, 1870. Their average age, when admitted, was 6 months and 19 days. Their average time in the hospital was 7 months 25 days. Their average age at that time was 1 year 2 months and 14 days. Of the rest, 227 were discharged at an average age of 12 months 21 days. They had been admitted at an average age of 10 months 23 days, and remained in the hospital but 1 month 28 days. 362 deaths took place ; the average ages, when admitted, were 3 months 2 days ; at death, 4 months 11 days ; and their average stay in hospital but 1 month 9 days.

Recapitulation for that period : Total, 606. Deaths, 362 ; discharges, 227 ; remaining, 17.

But let us look over a number of years to obtain more elaborate statistics. In the Infant Hospital, Ward's Island and Randall's Island, since the summer of 1869, there were total admissions of infants,

either with or without their mothers, and including always those who remained from previous years :

	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.
	1887	1516	1176	1088
Died.....	1039	710	429	271
Discharged.....	595	552	552	587
Remained.....	253	254	195	240

PERCENTAGES.

	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.
Died.....	55.06	46.83	36.49	24.68
Discharged....	31.53	36.42	46.93	53.46
Remained.....	13.41	16.75	16.58	21.86

These lists exhibit a gradual diminution of mortality, and a gradual increase of those who get discharged or remain alive. These facts are due to greater general and medical care, to the employment of a larger number of wet-nurses, and to the diminished number of admissions.

Still, the real proportions can be got at only by comparing the real admissions, those who remained of the preceding year not included.

Thus we arrive at the following figures :

	1869.	1870.	1871.
Admissions.....	1263	922	903
Of whom were discharged...	552	552	587
The recorded deaths amount to	710	429	271

This result is very unfavorable, certainly. If you

take off the discharges through the year, you have infants admitted and not discharged :

In 1869, 711 admissions; 710 deaths.

In 1870, 370 admissions; 429 deaths.

In 1871, 316 admissions; 271 deaths.

That is, a surplus of 45 living children over deaths amongst the *bona-fide* admissions (discharges deducted). You can get at the final result in still another way:

There were remaining on January 1st, 1868, and admitted during the year 1868.....		1887		
Newly admitted, 1869.....		1263		
Newly admitted, 1870.....		922		
Newly admitted, 1871		903		
Total.....		4975		
Discharges in 1868.....	595	Deaths in 1868.....	1039	
Discharges in 1869.....	552	Deaths in 1869.....	710	
Discharges in 1870.....	552	Deaths in 1870.....	429	
Discharges in 1871.....	587	Deaths in 1871.....	271	
Total discharges.....		2286	Total deaths.....	2449
			Total discharges.....	2286
Grand total.....				4735

These figures leave a balance of 240 living children in four years, as above, and yield the lowest rate of mortality, that of last year, *discharges not counted*, as amounting to 85.8 per cent, the percentage of those remaining alive to 14.2.

This low percentage is particularly due to the fact that a certain number of the inmates of the institution were foundlings, in the real meaning of the term, and had to be raised on artificial food. We have before us the names, etc., of these infants,

as admitted in 1868, 1869, and 1870. Their number amounts to 231. Of these, as many as 17 were returned to their mothers after a short period ; 19 were adopted and 195 died, proving the absolute fatality of their condition.

The Commissioners of Charities, under whose superintendence the institution on Randall's Island is administered, deserve the credit of never attempting to conceal the facts—their own reports speak volumes—and of trying their best efforts. They have employed as many wet-nurses as they could obtain, have improved their building, tried to provide effective medical and other help, and have finally succeeded in reducing the death rate, and, as the figures of the reports will show, in prolonging life. Still, they are aware that their best efforts in the old methods have been greatly unavailing, and have frequently followed the advice of their medical board and house physician.

The printed minutes of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction of last year contain a proposition to make preparations for boarding out babies, submitted by the Medical Board of the Infant Hospital, Randall's Island. The Commissioners have, we believe, deferred further action only in consequence of the necessity of keeping up all their numerous charities, and from their fear of not being capable of meeting a momentary increase of expenses. But lately a paper was prepared, which was intended to be circulated over the signatures of the Commissioners, containing similar propositions. It is but right to say that they considered the publication impracticable at that moment,

but approved of and indorsed all its contents. One of your Committee has requested and obtained permission to publish it, and has done so in an address to the Medical Society of the County of New York, which has appeared in the January number of the *New York Medical Journal*. It is written in the form of a letter, which was to be distributed among such persons as are mentioned in it, and, with its remarks and suggestions, will explain itself. It reads as follows :

“DEAR SIR:—Your special attention is herewith directed to the claims of a class of destitutes who, as they are helpless, are the more deserving of the sympathy of the just and benevolent. In their behalf the Commissioners of Charities and Correction have tried to improve the methods of supporting, raising, and educating, have built costly edifices, and gladly availed themselves of any advice their medical boards could afford them. Still, the results of their efforts are far from being satisfactory, and, after careful consideration of the difficulties to be overcome and the aims to be reached, the undersigned request you to give your attention to the following remarks, and to lend your valuable aid in furthering their endeavors.

“The class of destitutes in question are the foundlings and abandoned infants, amounting to the number of about three thousand a year, in the city of New York. Their claims have been so well acknowledged of late, and the public at large have become so conversant with the humane and political aspects of their case, that a number of associations have been formed for the purpose of either raising them or educating those who survive.

“From a report laid before them by the Medical Board of their Infant Hospital, which admits yearly about 1,200 or 1,400 of these destitutes, we gather the fearful and embarrassing fact that infants collected in large institutions of the best hygienic designs, with the most careful dietetic and medical care, will die in large numbers. This immense mortality is

particularly great in earliest infancy. Of 47 deaths in New York City under five years, 39 occur under two years and as many as 30 under one year ; the mortality of abandoned children under the charge of public or private authorities is still larger. The very accumulation of infants under one roof, the scarcity of breast milk obtained, the difficulty of securing competent nursing for a large number of infants, the ravages of contagious diseases, the poisoning by deleterious exhalations and excretions, etc., are just so many obstacles to the health and life of the young inmates of our public institutions. The difficulties of raising infants in our institutions, and of gathering a sufficient amount of breast milk in them, induce the undersigned to try a change with a part of their inmates. A number of them are to be given in charge of responsible parties in the country surrounding New York. The not unfavorable results of farming out even in cities, when compared with the mortality of institutions, encourage us to hope that infants farmed out in the country have a much greater certainty of life and a healthy future. And with regard to this plan, we have herewith taken the liberty of sending you this communication.

“We propose to farm a number of babies out until they have reached the end of the third year. In particular cases special arrangements may be made beyond that age.

“Babies who have no teeth are expected to be fed on breast milk exclusively; such as have from two to four teeth, on mixed food. Afterward they are to be weaned according to such rules concerning the feeding of the children as shall be laid down by the undersigned or their Medical Board.

“A single party is to be entrusted with but one nursling. A medical examination only can decide whether, in exceptional cases, a woman is fit to nurse two infants. She may, however, obtain an older child in addition to the nursling.

“She must either be married or a widow, or very well recommended. She must have plenty of breast milk for the nursling in charge, no matter whether she has lost her own baby or has sufficient nourishment for two (her own and the stranger). She must be healthy, not destitute, not intemperate, and known to be industrious and not entirely depen-

dent on the board paid for the nursling. She has to present a certificate from responsible parties—physicians, clergymen, postmasters, town authorities, or well-known citizens—concerning the above requirements, stating also how many children she has and how many she has lost.

“The applications of women who offer to take charge of infants are made at the office of the Commissioners of Charities and Correction. The depot of the babies is at Randall’s Island. The house physician notifies an applicant to call for her boarder. She has to call personally. Travelling expenses are refunded. The board money is ten dollars a month, to be paid semi-monthly, monthly, or bi-monthly.

“Besides, we offer to pay twenty dollars to a party with whom a boarder has been living for sixteen consecutive months, at the end of his second year.

“These are the outlines of the principal rules which, in all probability, will govern the farming out of infants in the country. We now apply to you, sir, and your friends, for your opinion and co-operation. You can advise us if, in your circle and neighborhood, the men in standing and authority, as mentioned above, would be found willing to help the cause of humanity and an enlightened political economy by giving such certificates as parties would require, by even encouraging a party to serve herself and the public by taking charge of an infant, and also by paying a certain amount of attention to the little one who has no mother but the community.

“The general superintendence will have to rest with the Medical Board of the Infant Hospital. Their house physician shall be entitled to provide for special inspection. Still, it will be of the utmost importance to interest the public at large in the welfare of the foundlings, particularly the ladies, who, according to localities, might form committees for the purpose of watching and superintending the foundlings and their nurses.

“You are respectfully requested to give the foregoing your attention, and to communicate to us your opinion as to the feasibility of our plans; whether, in your opinion, a certain number of women would be fit and willing to charge themselves with bringing up an abandoned infant in your neigh-

borhood, and whether yourself or your friends, or their ladies, would be found willing, by occasional inspection, etc., to aid our attempts in raising infants whose life is as valuable to society as our duties toward them are clear."

This letter has not been sent out, but is simply given as a contribution to the history of infant institutions in the city of New York, and the gradual improvement of the plan on which they must, in future, be raised. Your Committee takes a pleasure in stating, and hopes not to betray an official secret, which it was not meant to be, that but lately an official connected with the Bureau of Public Charities has been sent out into the country to ascertain to what extent the co-operation of physicians and authorities could be secured, and to learn the willingness of country people to take charge of little ones. It is known that this first attempt has proven far from unsatisfactory.*

* P. S.—In the minutes of the meeting of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction, held on May 23d, we find the following report of the house physician of the Infant Hospital, Randall's Island:

INFANT HOSPITAL, R. I., May 4, 1872.

Isaac E. Taylor, M.D., President Medical Board, Infant Hospital.

DEAR SIR:—Herewith please find the usual statistical tables for the month ending April 30th, 1872.

The principal topic of interest connected with the experiences of the month has been the inauguration of the "farming-out" system, so called. But it is well to bear in mind, at the outset, the fact that the plan as at present adopted by us is no fair test of what is popularly understood, at all events in Europe, as the farming-out system. This is evident when I state that all the children, with a single exception, thus far sent into the country are walking children, and are above the

According to the records of the Nursery and Child's Hospital, Lexington avenue, corner of 51st street, New York, 117 babies were born in the

age of from twenty months to two years. The results, however, even with this class of children, are thus far highly satisfactory. I have visited the children at their new homes several times, and have had further and more detailed information concerning them from my assistants who have been detailed to make inquiry concerning them. And from all this I am confident that the children are better off, in almost every respect, than when in the hospital. Now that the system is becoming known in the section where hitherto we have confined the boarding of the children (viz., Westchester County), there is an increasing disposition on the part of the inhabitants of that locality to assist us in the enterprise, and already I have had several applications to take young infants to board. I have but little doubt that we shall soon be able to secure good homes for quite a large number of infants of the class referred to. And, with this object in view, I have not sent out the entire number authorized by the Board of Commissioners, as I have preferred to reserve a few vacancies for this younger class. I am gratified to report that the physician (Dr. Weiss) whom I have employed to look after the children has evinced a very decided interest in the project, and his services thus far have been of inestimable value to us in carrying the plan into operation. It is not a little surprising, too, to notice the interest of the German population in his district in the matter; and from my own personal observation I make no hesitation in saying that in Westchester County alone, in the near vicinity of the town of Mt. Vernon, I could easily provide good and satisfactory homes for at least five hundred children above the age of, say, two years.—E. S. DUNSTER, M.D.

This is the first report on the first attempt at putting into operation a genuine boarding-out system. It looks favorable enough as far as it goes. The subsequent reports of the same gentleman are written in the same tenor, no diseases of any

lying-in department of that institution from October 1st, 1870, to October 1st, 1871. Of this number 69 were discharged within a short time after their birth; most babies go out with their mothers within a few weeks, some remain a little while longer. The aggregate stay of the 69 little ones amounted to 108 months and 5 days. A month is always taken in our accounts as averaging 30 days; thus the average stay of each of the 69 amounts to 1 month and 17 days.

Our information on one of the rest is not positive. We do not know whether James McAlister has been discharged or died. We have not counted him among the dead. Of the other 47 babies who were not so fortunate as to get discharged, 27 died. Their aggregate ages at the time of their death were 69 months, or 2 months and 17 days per head. We have no means of knowing how many of the discharged 69 would have succumbed if they had averaged a stay at the institution of 2 months and 17 days, instead of 1 month and 17 days.

Of the 20 who remained alive within the Nursery after October 1st, 1871, 9 have been born in the last quarter of the year; 5, viz., 20 per cent, in the very last month. They had not then averaged 2 months and 17 days.

account having occurred, and no death amongst all of the boarded-out children having taken place for several months, although, after the first report had been published as above, a number of babies under a year were disposed of in the same manner. Repeatedly the Commissioners of Charities have expressed their utmost satisfaction at the result of what was formerly considered a hazardous experiment, and by some a ridiculous undertaking.

We wish every practitioner of medicine present in this hall to compare his own experience and statistics among the rich and the poor with these results obtained in the Nursery and Child's Hospital, where every one of the 47 has had its mother's or, in some cases, nurse's milk. Of 47 new-born babies, 27 have died at the average age of 2 months 17 days, and half of the rest were not old enough to have reached this average.

You will now be prepared for some more figures :

ADMISSIONS OF INFANTS AND CHILDREN TO THE NURSERY AND CHILD'S HOSPITAL, OCTOBER 1ST, 1870, TO OCTOBER 1ST, 1871, BETWEEN THE AGES OF ONE DAY AND NINE YEARS ONE MONTH:

	Admis- sions.	With aggregate ages.		
		Years.	Months.	Days.
October, 1870.....	25	22	5	23
November, "	22	35	11	27
December, "	21	27	7	27
January, 1871.....	22	14	4	4
February, "	18	23	4	26
March, "	17	38	11	9
April, "	21	30	10	8
May, "	17	24	8	3
June, "	19	37	0	3
July, "	27	37	5	8
August, "	26	43	1	25
September, "	18	25	7	13
Total.....	253	361	9	26

Thus the average age of 253 infants or children admitted in good health from October 1st, 1870, to October 1st, 1871, amounted to 1 year 5 months 16 days. We naturally lay stress on the fact of their health being good when they were admitted; for it

is the rule of the institution that it shall be so. This much is sure, that no child has died this year of a disease contracted before it entered the Nursery. Still, so great is the liability of the inmates to fall sick in the institution that the secretary of the Medical Board publishes, in the annual report gotten up in 1870, the unnatural fact that 2,000 serious cases of sickness occurred in one year among 377 admissions; and in that of 1871, over 1,400 cases of sickness in 358 admissions.

Of the 253 admitted from October 1st, 1870, to October 1st, 1871, 128 were discharged within a short time after their admission. We will presume they were all in good health when they left the institution.

	Discharges took place.	Aggregate stay, in days, at the Institution
October, 1870.....	12	761
November, ".....	10	755
December, ".....	16	1049
January, 1871.....	12	393
February, ".....	11	800
March, ".....	10	666
April, ".....	12	316
May, ".....	8	274
June, ".....	8	283
July, ".....	17	848
August, ".....	7	304
September, ".....	5	132
Total.....	128	6581

Thus the average residence of each of the 128 inside the Nursery amounts to 1 month 21.4 days.

If you compare the enumerated discharges and admissions in the several months with the deaths, or if you will take the trouble to look over the records

we have before us, you will reach the number of babies remaining alive in the institution :

	Admis- sions.	Discharged since.	Died since.	Remain alive.
September, 1871.....	18	5	4	9
August, ".....	26	7	3	16
July, ".....	27	17	4	6
June, ".....	19	8	7	4
May, ".....	17	8	4	5
April, ".....	21	12	9	0
March, ".....	17	10	3	4
February, ".....	18	11	3	4
January, ".....	22	12	8	2
December, 1870.....	21	16	2	3
November, ".....	22	10	8	4
October, ".....	25	12	12	1

After all there were 125 *bona-fide* inmates who stayed more than the average of 1 month 21.4 days. Of these died:

	Inmates.	Aggregate ages.		
		Years.	Months.	Days.
October, 1870... ..	12	7	1	8
November, ".....	8	6	6	20
December, ".....	4	0	11	28
January, 1871.....	8	3	10	0
February, ".....	3	1	8	1
March, ".....	3	3	0	25
April, ".....	9	11	10	2
May, ".....	4	2	6	4
June, ".....	7	8	11	12
July, ".....	4	3	1	19
August, ".....	3	2	6	27
September, ".....	4	5	9	21
Total.....	69	58	00	17

Necessarily we must expect some more to die.

Up to November 19th, 1871, one, who was admitted at the age of 1 year 3 months 21 days, died at the age of 1 year 7 months, on November 19th, of pneumonia. Thus, up to the date of November 19th, there were 70 deaths among 125 healthy children admitted to the Nursery. The average age at the time of death was 10 months 7 days.

The causes of death are attributed, in 1 case each, to croup, pleuro-pneumonia, entero-colitis and peritonitis, measles, pneumonia and croup, scarlatina and croup, diarrhoea and broncho-pneumonia, pleuritis, intussusception, broncho-pneumonia, atelectasis (child of 11 months 4 days), pulmonary tubercle and pneumonia, measles and pneumonia, diphtheria, pulmonary tubercle; in 2 cases each, to marasmus, hypostatic pneumonia, measles and croup, cholera infantum, whooping cough; in 3 cases each, to tuberculosis, atrophy, measles; in 4 each, to chronic diarrhoea and pneumonia; in 6, diarrhoea; 10, chronic diarrhoea; 13, pneumonia.

Of these 70 deaths, 18 occurred in children over a year, 52 in such as were less than a year old. But 3 of the former children had been admitted before they were a year old—viz., 2 were admitted at 10 months, 1 at 11 months 18 days. They died when they were 1 year 2 days, 1 year 17 days, 1 year 2 months 7 days old. Thus we arrive at a sum of 55 deaths among babies who were admitted before they were 12 months old. A large number of them had reached nearly that age at the time of their admission.

But how many babies were admitted under a year, of whom 55 could die within the short space of time reviewed in this retrospect?

Of the total of 253 admitted, 42 were over 3 years, 30 between 2 and 3, 44 from 1 to 2 years—together, 116 over 1 year. Of these 116, 76 were discharged in a short time. Of the remaining 40, 15 (18 less 3) have died within this limited time—a percentage, for the time being, of 37.5 among children over a year, very many of them over 2 and 3 years, and all of them entrusted to the Nursery in perfect health.

Of the 135 admitted at less than a year, 52 were discharged after a short period; 83 were left in the Nursery as *bona-fide* inmates. Of these 83, the number of 55 died within the limited period which is the subject of this compilation. The aggregate ages of these 83 at their admission was 377 months; the average, 2 months 23.8 days.

Thus it results that the mortality of babies entrusted in good health to the Nursery, at the age of nearly 3 months, within this limited period, is 66.26 per cent.

The aggregate ages of the 55 at the time of their death, including those 3 who passed their first birthday while in the institution, count up to 26 years 11 months 1 day; the average age of each to 5 months 26 days. As their average admission took place at 2 months 23.8 days, they lasted 3 months and 2 days each in the institution.

Some questions submit themselves very readily:

1. What will happen to those who have reached, like the dead, the end of their sixth month by this time, and will stay in the institution to the full end of their first year? For the average ages of those 18 above mentioned, who were admitted before October 1st, 1870, and died after my former report was made, amount to 10 months 6 days.

2. Was it fortunate or not for the 128 discharged children to stay but 51.4 days in the institution, as the time averaged between admission and death is 3 months 2 days?

3. What is likely to become of the 20 living babies born in the place, and remaining at the present time in the institution, provided their stay is extended to the end of their first year? On the 20th of November their average life was a trifle more than 6 months, and up to that period 27 out of 47 (57.45 per cent) had died.

4. If $66\frac{1}{4}$ per cent perish among healthy infants admitted, as those of the Nursery, at an average age of 2 months 23.8 days, what would be the percentage if the babies were admitted at birth under the same circumstances?

To facilitate the answer to this latter question, I beg to compare the following facts:

OF 100 NEWLY-BORN INFANTS, DIED IN:

	Belgium, 1840-50.	Holland, 1848-53.	Austria, 1851.	Sardinia, 1823-37.	France, 1853.
0- 1 month..	5.18	4.70	10.96	11.14	6.60
1- 2 months.	1.76	2.29	2.55	1.87	2.85
2- 3 "	1.27	2.09	1.96	1.43	
3- 4 "	1.08	1.91	3.42	2.51	2.39
4- 5 "	0.86	1.48			
5- 6 "	0.76	1.19			
6- 7 "	0.72	1.77	2.40	4.89	3.15
7- 8 "	0.66				
8- 9 "	0.66	1.42			
9-10 "	0.65				
10-11 "	0.63		2.78		
11-12 "	0.80				
0-1 year..	15.03	18.14	24.07	21.84	14.99

From this table, which has been taken from official documents, it is evident that the mortality of babies who have reached the end of their first quarter is but one-third or one-sixth, for each following quarter, of what it would be from the first hour to the end of the third month of life. It appears, then, that the admissions at the Nursery and Child's Hospital take place at an average age when the principal danger to life is already passed. Still, it is, in a limited period, 66.6 per cent.

We think we might go on *ad infinitum* with the practical conclusions. We want to draw but one conclusion—viz., *that the attempt to raise babies in great institutions, even with large means to help you, cannot be justified ; that these institutions must be given up and reserved for other purposes, and that the only system worthy of being sustained is to place the children out with private parties.*

We claim that the preceding figures are correct, and our conclusions warranted by facts as given above. We also claim that our report as herewith presented was ordered by you, and written by your Committee, for the purpose of arriving at the truth, and not of satisfying any personal ends. We have not forgotten that it is undignified and low to regard personal motives and ends as anything in comparison with the requirements and necessities of society and the dictates of justice. Therefore we were of the opinion that we had to deal with institutions, not with persons ; with principles, and not with individuals. The names and persons of those who superintend the several institutions spoken of are of no account to you or to your Committee. *If the best*

names of the land were at the head of the government of the country or an institution, they would be liable to make mistakes, and to see their best efforts thwarted BY A FAULTY SYSTEM. *Not to fight systems and principles which are found to be wrong and to work badly, is the domain of those who are too lazy to think, too cowardly to disagree, too menial to resist those in power.* If there were no thoughtful, courageous, and self-denying members of society, there would be no safeguard against social iniquity, misrule, and despotism.

It is with deep sorrow, therefore, that we have to record the fact that plain statements have been answered by insults, search for truth by calumnies. You will be astonished to read the following editorial, published but a few days ago in one of the great New York daily papers :*

“ASYLUMS FOR INFANTS.

“The *Post* has blundered. It commends to the Legislature the opinions of Dr. Jacobi, who happens to be President of the Medical Society of New York, as worthy of their attention. Dr. Jacobi was put out of the Nursery and Child’s Hospital for misbehavior, personal and professional, if not malpractice. He has crammed his inaugural address with diatribes and false statistics and misrepresentations of the institution in which he was not permitted to act as a physician. He does not discuss the general topic, which deserves discussion, whether a child’s hospital should be kept at a minimum number and as large a part as possible to be distributed in private families or small and widely separated houses under hospital management. He merely rants. He makes no com-

* The World, February 4th, 1872.

parison of the results at the Foundling Hospital, the Nursery, and the public institutions on the island—which is probably accounted for by his ‘vast researches during several trips to Europe’—and he comes to the sapient conclusion that these institutions must be given up, and that ‘the only system is to place the children out with private parties.’ The problem is far from such easy solution. His readers—if so much spleen and malice can procure him readers—will not forget how England rang from one end to the other but a few weeks ago with denunciations of the horrors and the apparently irremediable abuses of this very system which Jacobi, M.D., has judged to be ‘the only system’ ever since he was put down the steps of the Nursery and Child’s Hospital.’

We have good reasons to believe that the writer of this indecent and shameless attack will be sorry for it before long, when he studies the sources from which his “information” was obtained. The history of Dr. Jacobi’s “expulsion” from the medical staff of the Nursery and Child’s Hospital is known to the medical profession from the reports published by medical journals. The “horrors of this very system” (?), with “the denunciations of which all England rang from one end to the other,” consist of a newspaper report concerning a single criminal woman who made a business of starving and destroying a dozen babies at a time; and the chronology of some of the above statements is rather erroneous, when we remember that Dr. Jacobi’s report, ordered and printed by the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction, was written and read in a meeting of the Medical Board of the Infant Hospital—George T. Elliot, President—and published nine months before the connection of Dr. Jacobi with the Nursery and Child’s Hospital was

put to an end. As "false statistics and misrepresentations" are imputed, however, we take the liberty of laying before you a few of the monthly records of the Nursery and Child's Hospital, in order to satisfy all whom it may concern of the manner in which your Committee has done its duty, and of the genuineness of our sources, which we should be glad to verify by an *official and impartial investigation*. (See pages 298-300.)

After all, your Committee would not lay too much stress on all the expressions of large daily papers, or other papers or journals, which are apt to be influenced by personal regard for interested individuals. Those who have personal ends to look after will avail themselves of all the facilities and influences within their reach, of personal connections; those, however, who work in the service of a principle and truth have no time or labor to waste. Thus the battle between personal ambition and prerogative on the one hand, and the seekers after truth on the other, is always a protracted one. Still, we trust that the labor in which you are engaged will not be lost. Many of the public papers have now and then, though cursorily, paid some attention to your research, as soon as they obtained a knowledge of its being instituted. As an example we quote a part of an editorial from another New York daily :

"Probably no one will doubt that the motives of the good people who have interested themselves in the Child's Hospital are pure, generous, and praiseworthy. But it is evident that there must be carelessness, a lack of administrative

ADMISSIONS TO THE NURSERY AND CHILD'S HOSPITAL (DEATHS KNOWN UNTIL NOV., 1871, ONLY).
October, 1870.

Names.	Age at admission.			Age at discharge.			Age at death.			Diagnosis.
	Yrs.	Mos.	Days	Yrs.	Mos.	Days	Yrs.	Mos.	Days	
Ida Sampson	2	3	...	2	3	11	...	...	...	.....
James McLean . . . . .	...	2	...	...	3	11	...	...	...	.....
J. E. MacMahon	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	27	Chronic diarrhoea and pneumonia.
J. W. Malloy . . . . .	...	1	12	...	...	...	...	10	15	Rubeola.
Emma Johnson . . . . .	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	Pneumonia.
Hester Lynch	2	5	...	2	7	21	...	...	...	.....
Edward Adams	1	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	.....
Mary Jane Jarvis . . . . .	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	6	14	Pneumonia.
Harry Lee . . . . .	...	...	14	...	1	2	...	...	...	.....
Thomas Whitaker	2	6	...	2	6	12	...	...	...	.....
Mary Ann Maher . . . . .	...	...	26	...	4	10	...	...	...	.....
Walter Leonard	1	7	...	1	11	18	...	...	...	.....
Alma Petterson . . . . .	...	1	13	...	...	...	...	...	17	Pneumonia.
Ada Call	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	Pulmonary tubercle.
John Chard . . . . .	...	...	...	5	0	24	...	...	...	.....
Wm. H. Smith . . . . .	...	...	28	...	...	...	...	3	...	Diphtheria.
Edward Dolan . . . . .	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.....
Frank Hallenbeck . . . . .	...	1	12	...	...	...	...	9	6	Pneumonia, rubeola, etc.
Annie Miller . . . . .	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	7	21	Pneumonia.
Margaret Morris . . . . .	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	5	9	Diarrhoea.
Gustave Dury . . . . .	...	1	19	...	...	...	...	8	...	Pulmonary tubercle and pneumonia.
James Haughey	1	9	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	.....
Henry Eastman . . . . .	...	...	21	...	...	23	...	...	...	.....
Michael Clark	1	6	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	.....
Ellen M. Kellgren . . . . .	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	19	Pneumonia, diarrhoea, etc.

ADMISSIONS TO THE NURSERY AND CHILD'S HOSPITAL (DEATHS KNOWN UNTIL NOV., 1871, ONLY).
November, 1870.

Names.	Age at admission.			Age at discharge.			Age at death.			Diagnosis.
	Yrs.	Mos.	Days	Yrs.	Mos.	Days	Yrs.	Mos.	Days	
Carrie Wall	3	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
William Bottomley	1	5	...	...	...	...	1	5	18	Pneumonia.
Ernestine Friend	1	8	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lizzie Smith . . . . .	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Moses Wertberger	7	...	...	7	8	...	...	...	...	...
Carl Begert	1	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
James McComb	1	9	...	1	10	3	...	...	...	...
Eliza Kreutz . . . . .	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	8	...	Diarrhoea.
Joseph Connors	2	7	...	2	7	3	...	...	...	...
Emil Koenigberg	1	...	...	1	...	21	...	...	...	...
Mary Smith . . . . .	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	11	4	Atelectasis.
Matilda Lauffen	3	5	...	3	6	14	...	...	...	...
Joseph Fletcher	3	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Annetie Schwan	3	6	...	3	7	...	...	...	...	...
Mary Kreuse . . . . .	...	...	13	...	...	...	...	11	...	Pertussis.
Jabo Besancon . . . . .	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	9	25	Pneumonia.
Frederick Vogel . . . . .	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	Chronic diarrhoea.
William Lee . . . . .	...	2	...	...	2	24	...	...	...	...
Augusta Funenberg . . . . .	...	5	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...
Thomas Ramsbotham	1	19	...	2	5	...	...	...	...	...
Albert Nellis . . . . .	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	5	15	Broncho-pneumonia.
James Brady . . . . .	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	5	18	Pneumonia.

CHILDREN WHO DIED BETWEEN OCT. 1ST, 1870, AND OCT. 1ST, 1871, BUT WERE ADMITTED PREVIOUS
TO OCT. 1ST, 1870.

Names.	Age at Admission			Age at Death.			Diagnosis.
	Yrs.	Mos.		Yrs.	Mos.		
		Days	Days		Days	Days	
Henry Bidere	21	...	2	...	Diarrhoea.
Ada Murphy	...	7	...	...	7	12	Tuberculosis.
Herbert Charles	...	2	6	...	7	18	Diarrhoea and pneumonia.
John J. Kelley	21	...	4	5	Pneumonia and cholera infantum.
Edward Walsh	1	...	...	1	1	14	Diarrhoea and pneumonia.
Sallie Kreunthall	29	...	8	12	Chronic pneumonia.
Mary Murphy	21	1	...	24	Pneumonia.
John Read	...	1	15	...	9	19	Marasmus.
Helena Anderson	14	...	9	4	Pneumonia.
Michael Bracken	1	10	...	3	3	13	Rubeola and cancerum oris.
Mary Jackson	10	1	6	13	Rubeola.
Cornelius Lindsay	15	...	6	13	Diarrhoea and pneumonia.
Eugene Pady	2	10	Chronic diarrhoea.
Dehlia Kusick	18	...	4	...	Capillary bronchitis.
Sydney Rankin	14	...	4	17	Pneumonia.
Mary Kingsley	6	...	Enterocolitis.
Nellie Callaghan	1	2	16	1	6	...	Chronic diarrhoea.
Emma Myers	10	15	Diarrhoea and bronchitis.

ability, or worse faults, somewhere, or we should witness more favorable results from the zealous charitable efforts which appear to have been in some manner misdirected in these quarters. And when two institutions which have been so highly esteemed as these are found to be in so unsatisfactory a condition, it is discouraging to think how many serious abuses a strict scrutiny into the affairs of all our charitable institutions would be likely to reveal. There are many people who in the name of charity labor industriously for the attainment of selfish ends, and such persons seldom fail of enlisting the aid of well-meaning people in their plausible schemes. We fear that a thorough investigation into the affairs of all our charitable enterprises might bring to light many projects for self-aggrandizement at the expense of the generous and the poor. The subject is an unpleasant one, but none the less deserves the attention of those who are responsible for the honest and judicious expenditure of the vast sums annually contributed in this city for the benefit of the suffering and needy."

And now let us for a moment examine into the expenses of large institutions like the Nursery and Child's Hospital.

On page 12 of the "Seventeenth Annual Report of the Nursery and Child's Hospital in the City of New York, 51st street, corner of Lexington avenue, March 1st, 1871," under the heading of "Financial Report" you will find the expenses between March 1st, 1870, and March 1st, 1871, laid down at a little more than \$75,000. Of these I deduct at once \$30,000 for "temporary investment," "part purchase of Country Hospital," and "furnishing and support of Country Hospital." Balance, \$45,000. As repairs and insurance are counted up with more than \$4,000, I estimate the rent of the immense buildings at \$20,000 only. Thus I take \$65,-

000 as a fair, or rather low, average estimate of the whole sum spent for the benefit and support of 253 admitted children and 117 lying-in women with their infants. *They are the only beneficiaries*, for the mothers taken in with, or in behalf of, their nurslings, and the wet-nurses, cannot be counted in this class, any more than the matron, the ward nurses, or the domestics. It may be interesting to know at this point that of \$45,000 the house inmates paid about \$12,000, the treasuries of the State and other authorities \$24,000, and private subscriptions and donations amounted to little more than \$1,700. The balance was made up by the receipts of the great Charity Ball.

Those beneficiaries did not stay in the institution through the whole year, but a very small part of it only. The aggregate stay of the new-born, who were soon discharged, amounts to 8 years ; those 27 who died at the average ages of 2 months 17 days, to 6 years ; those 20 who remain after the close of the year (October, 1870, to October, 1871), to 8 years. The aggregate stay of the 128 children who were admitted and soon discharged, to 18 years ; of the 125 who are dead or still alive, to 60 years. Total, 100 years. The aggregate stay of the pregnant women who were confined in the institution may be set down at 20 years. Thus \$45,000 without rent, or \$65,000 rent included, are spent on *a year's board* of 100 children (the new-born included) and 20 adults, said board averaging the sum of about \$400, rent not included.

How nearly correct this estimate is we find corroborated by the fact that the sum of about \$12,000 is

credited as "house income" in this year's financial report. Our summing up would average a yearly board paid by the inmates of \$100, or a monthly one of about \$8, which is almost the very figure (a little less) of the average board paid to the institution by the inmates.

While we remind our readers of the fact that our figures cover the time from October, 1870, to 1871, and the report alluded to the time from March, 1870, to March, 1871, and that, therefore, trifling differences may be found, you will still find a few of the items in the expenses highly interesting.

The 120 annual boards required in round numbers: \$25,000 for provisions; wages amounted to \$4,000; stationery, printing, and collecting (of \$1,195 "subscriptions," I suppose) to \$625; wine, brandy, drugs, and surgical instruments, \$1,800. After all, you discover that, *besides* subscriptions, donations, payments of inmates, and proceeds of Charity Ball, the treasuries of the people of the State of New York pay alone 30 per cent more than the rate of sustaining the infants under the charge of the Commissioners of Charities and Correction, and you will, we hope, agree with us in our conclusion that the State, that society, can work at a cheaper rate and on a more uniform plan than the dozens of self-constituted authorities. Altogether you will find that the total cost of sustaining the infants of the Nursery and Child's Hospital amounts to more than treble the expense of the Commissioners for the same purpose.* We wish

* In the minutes of the meetings of the Commissioners of Charities and Correction we read the following:

we could say that their successes were double as to general care, good food, clean wards, and mortality. Unfortunately, the high standards of food, wards, and mortality are undeniable.

Let, however, these figures suffice. He whom they have not yet convinced of the truth of our statement that large institutions, no matter what

Resolved, That the estimates of Doctor E. S. Dunster, Resident Physician of the Infant Hospital, under date of 20th May, 1872, and of William H. Stephens, Warden of Randall's Island Nurseries, under date of May 16th, 1872, be adopted by this Board as the fair and equitable estimate of the care and provision of infants, per week each, in the Infant Hospital; and the cost for maintenance and hospital care of each child over the age of eighteen months, *per year*, in the Nursery for Children on Randall's Island; and that certificates of such estimates, signed by the Secretary of this Board, be transmitted to the Trustees of the Foundling Asylum of the Sisters of Charity in the City of New York, and to the Trustees of the New York Infant Asylum, as provided by chapters 635 and 263 of the Laws of 1872. August 2d, 1871. Adopted.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC CHARITIES AND CORRECTION,
August 2d, 1872.

In conformity with the resolution adopted this day by the Board of Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction, and herewith transmitted:

I hereby certify that the sum of one dollar and seventy-two and one-tenth cents (\$1.72 $\frac{1}{10}$) is a fair and equitable estimate for the care and provision of infants, *per week* each, in the Infant Hospital, and the sum of seventy-nine dollars and fifty-one and eight-tenth cents (\$79.51 $\frac{8}{10}$) as the cost for maintenance and hospital care for each child over the age of eighteen months, *per year*, in the Nursery for Children on Randall's Island.

JOSHUA PHILLIPS, *Sec'y.*

their means are, will destroy their infant inmates, may perhaps change his mind on still further investigation. At all events, it will prove a difficult task to trace the fearful mortality of the institution we have spoken of to radical faults in the manner in which it is conducted. We do not think there are many shortcomings in the administration of that institution which will not be found in all carried on upon the faulty principle of accumulating large numbers of infants under one roof. Still, it must be said that institutions under dozens of managers labor under unusual difficulties—never thrive well. There is always something meddlesome, fidgety, inconsistent, incongruous, in large numbers; nor is the transaction of business by a ring, if we are well informed, cheap or expedient; nor can we presume that where less special knowledge than ambition and theoretical love is brought to bear upon a serious task like that of conducting an infant asylum, the results are surprisingly favorable. We say “theoretical love”; for, where a board of several dozens of managers in New York City cannot command more than seventeen hundred dollars’ worth of “subscriptions and donations,” we dare say that love requires more practical illustration.

Old Homer says that a government of many heads does no good. He wants one master. Perhaps he thought of infant asylums. The improvements effected in the management and mortality of the Infant Hospital (Randall’s Island) by the intelligent administration of a single medical officer with his subordinates, under the control and in the pay of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Cor-

rection, speak for the advantages of special knowledge and a uniform plan.

Let us then again urge the fact that large infant asylums will destroy children.

When this fact became known, many experiments were made of distributing infants over a number of places—the so-called cottage system. Six, ten, twelve, were kept in a small separate institution. The disadvantages are plain. The increased number of households raises the expenses, the difficulty of obtaining wet-nurses increases, control and medical attendance become more and more difficult. The cottage is, in fact, not much, if at all, better than a ward in a public institution.

What, then, is left but to board out the infants in the country? For common sense, hygienic principles, and statistics point to the country as the residence of the children of the commonwealth. When this conclusion will be the conviction of all, the necessary steps will be taken, no matter how great the difficulties may be. With us they are not small.

Our population adjoining the great cities, especially New York, is not so large as in Europe, and is not so poor. It is not of such vital importance for a country family to avail themselves of a small subsidy paid for the infant boarder. But there are some considerations which are to be taken into account. The first is that the infants we have to care for do not count by six or ten thousand every year; and the second, that the sum which is at present spent for every infant, under the charge of the Commissioners of Charities is by no means a trifle, and, under the managers of the Nursery and Child's

Hospital, enormous. It would be found, on trying, that the apparent difficulties in procuring proper country homes for our infants would by no means be so great as they may appear at first sight. Even if there were some in the beginning, we should always gain, even by small results.

The question whether it would be desirable to leave, if possible, the young illegitimate child in charge of its mother, cannot be answered in a manner uniformly adapted to every case. The facts exhibited by the Munich records, according to which the children reared by their own mothers have a fearfully larger mortality than those entrusted to strangers, do not look encouraging. In our city I am afraid that many of our unmarried mothers would not prove excellent nurses. Still, the fact of their being sufficiently supported might change the circumstances and yield better results than the following lists, comprising the numbers of all the infants and children up to fourteen years, in Munich, under official charge. Part of them are given in charge to parties under constant supervision of the proper officers. Part are in the care of their (illegitimate) mothers or grandmothers.

	Total number.	This year's increase.	With strangers.	Died.	With their mothers or grand- mothers.	Died.
1860-61.....	10,987	1,931	4,124	263	6,863	578
1861-62.....	11,290	2,164	4,257	287	6,933	876
1862.....	11,737	2,513	4,706	292	7,031	983
1863.....	12,292	3,068	5,135	287	7,157	1,117
1864.....	12,980	3,736	5,815	251	7,165	1,188
1865.....	13,967	4,040	6,119	186	7,848	1,228
1866.....	14,490	4,293	6,272	187	8,218	1,111
1867.....	14,967	4,539	6,418	170	8,549	1,123

Thus the mortality of illegitimate children, in percentage, up to the fourteenth year, the surviving being counted again in every consecutive year, is the following :

	With mothers and grandmothers.	With strangers.	Total.
	Per cent	Per cent.	Per cent.
1860.....	11	6	9
1861.....	12.5	6.4	10
1862.....	14	6	11
1863.....	15.6	5.6	11.4
1864.....	16.6	4.3	11
1865.....	15.6	3	10
1866.....	13.4	3	8.9
1867.....	13	3	8.9

Thus the mortality of illegitimate children in Munich, from the day of their birth to their fourteenth year, is three times as large when they are left in the care of their mothers and relatives as when they are given in charge of strangers and remain under official supervision.

There is another consideration not to be lost sight of. Unfavorable though all circumstances be within the walls of an institution, mortality can be reduced by procuring paid wet-nurses for the same. We know that our nursed infants thrive much better than the bottle-fed. But no breast milk is obtained except from those who have no home, the poorest and most miserable. No married woman, as a rule, at least none who has the slightest means of escaping the discipline of and submission to institution rules, will ever consent to become a wet-nurse to any of our children. Thus we have to take either the sickly or profligate, the very poor, or con-

sider ourselves very fortunate when we succeed in securing the own mother's breast for the support of the infant. Many mothers, however, who have a home in the country, have lost a young baby, or have milk enough left, after weaning, to nurse, or enough to nurse two, but who would never consent to leave their husbands and children, could be induced to take charge of an infant. A careful comparison of the direct expenses of the two modes of rearing infants, out of and in asylums, in Europe, has proved that even there no pecuniary loss is incurred by the more advantageous and humane proceeding.

Besides, the nurses necessary for the infants in institutions are just so many nurses kept out of the service of the general public. In New York City wet-nurses are scarce since the humane efforts of the Commissioners of Charities and the Catholic Foundling Institution have been directed to the task of supplying our foundlings with human milk. Thus it is very probable that what society gains on one side, in the saving of the destitute and poor, is lost among the public in general. At all events, such element of proper food as is accessible at its own home only—that is, breast milk of the country-women—is left unavailable and unused.

If not absolutely necessary, no attempts at obtaining breast milk ought to be made within the limits of the city. Beside the other damaging influences of city life and city atmosphere, which alone destroy so many infants' lives, the experience of former times, of boarding the city's infants within the boundaries of the city, has been very unfavorable.

It is not our intention to go into the particulars

of administration at this moment. Still, we beg the privilege of pointing out a mode of action which in some parts may prove faulty, but which, under our circumstances, will, in our opinion, prove sufficiently correct to enlist sympathy or bring out a discussion.

Before so doing we again refer to our opinion on the responsibilities and duties and the rights of the State. The whole administration of the foundlings ought to be controlled by the commonwealth. Private or sectarian establishments ought to be under governmental supervision ; ought not to be supported or aided by the State, but not interfered with so long as their successes and general management appear satisfactory ; the department of the foundlings to be centred in one office ; the necessary appointments of the head or heads to be made by the Governor of the State.

The expense of boarding the foundlings to be borne by the people of the State of New York.

By concentrating the administration the running expenses would be but small in proportion. New York City would have a single depot for the abandoned children, from which speedy distributions would take place. The large buildings at present dedicated to the purpose of raising infants would soon be required for those children who would be returned from the country after reaching the age of three or five years. Some might become hospitals—we have no child's hospital in New York City—some schools and asylums for the older children of the community, where they would be taught to become useful citizens of the Republic.

We assume a mortality in the first year, say, of 25 or 30 per cent of infants abandoned in the first year. After that time the mortality will become small. Of 1,000 abandoned infants 750 or 700 must reach in future their twelfth month. We assume \$150, the amount spent by the Commissioners of Charities and Correction, to be a fair average for yearly board, clothing, etc. Thus 1,000 abandoned infants would cost the State per annum, say, \$120,000. The 3,000 lives endangered or thrown away every year might cost us \$350,000 yearly; but then we should certainly succeed in saving most of them, at a proportionately small expense, and educating those many who have been saved.

The question concerning the best mode of disposing of the children who have reached their sixth year, or the end of their sixth year, must be answered on the strength of the following considerations: The mortality of early age has closed by this time, it being ten times less between the sixth and fourteenth years than what it has been from birth to the sixth year. Therefore there is but little danger in recalling the children from their temporary homes in the country. Experience has taught, and statistics prove, that mortality in public institutions in that period of life is not large. The reasons are evident. The children are active, their occupation is divided between playing, learning, and light work. They are changing about between the playgrounds, dining rooms, school rooms, work rooms, and bed rooms. Ventilation, therefore, and a full supply of air are rendered easy. Thus not even the customary requirements of

a certain number of cubic feet per head will hold good for institutions of that kind, less space being necessary than in hospitals. Thus there is no doubt that the children of that age may be removed from the country to be transferred to their common city homes.

But there is more than the mere admissibility of uniting the children in an institution, refuge, or orphan asylum. It appears that such a step is advisable and may become necessary. At the age we speak of the child requires further education and schooling, unless the sad results of neglected education, such as we have spoken of in regard to the French foundlings, are expected to be encountered in later life. The infant and young child had everything it needed in the pure atmosphere of the country, and at the breast or cow's milk diet. But schooling cannot be supplied at will, and even this will does not always exist. Even in the immediate neighborhood of large cities school education is neglected with a part of the population, and, as it is not compulsory with us, it is more than probable that in very many cases of our foundlings it would be neglected. Moreover, that very period of life is the one in which the children may be made useful for work adapted or not to their age. There is some reason to fear that the children entrusted to the care of strangers would sometimes be overworked and become unhealthy and crippled. Thus the results of the former years' care and attention might in many cases be endangered again by the carelessness or avariciousness of the parties concerned. The temptation, it must be feared, would be too great for them in some instances.

Thus it appears that while the earliest period of life requires farming-out to private parties in the country, the more advanced age might be more benefited by education in larger institutions. The mode of their management may differ in many respects. There may be a difference of opinion regarding the choice of small or large institutions. Some are in favor of uniting a limited number of children under the superintendence of a teacher who at the same time is the superior of the common household. Some, however, favor large institutions. This much is certain, that whatever plan is followed concerning the education of children after their sixth year, the recalling them from country homes ought to be considered as preferable to their remaining in their seclusion, whenever there is a possibility of occasional neglect. Experience will show whether such neglect is to be feared, however. Mr. Anderson's results speak certainly in favor of allowing the children to remain in their country homes ; and Samuel B. Howe, in an address delivered at the ceremony of laying the corner stone of the New York State Institution for the Blind, September, 1866, when speaking of the comparative value of large institutions and private homes (not for the blind only), says : " All great establishments in the nature of boarding schools, where the sexes must be separated ; where there must be boarding in common and sleeping in congregate dormitories ; where there must be routine and formality, and restraint and repression of individuality ; where the charms and refining influences of the true family relation cannot be had—all such institutions are un-

natural, undesirable, and very liable to abuse. We should have as few of them as is possible, and those few should be kept as small as possible. . . . We should be cautious about establishing artificial communities, or those approaching them in character, for any children and youth."

But "when two do the same, it is not the same," and, therefore, we are not prepared to recommend a uniform rule and advice in every individual case. The character of the foster-parents, the distance from the nearest school house, etc., are just as many points requiring consideration.

CONCLUSIONS.

In accordance with the facts and conclusions contained in this report, which we have the honor of presenting to the Medical Society of the State of New York, we desire to propose the following :

That the life and health of every infant are, both economically and morally, of paramount importance to society and to the commonwealth.

That it is the duty of society and of the State to grant every infant the possibility of living and obtaining an education :

That it can under no circumstances free itself of its responsibilities by throwing them upon private individuals, but should take charge of every infant deprived of its parental protectors by death or incompetency.

That science and experience have united on certain principles to be observed in the raising of the young.

That human breast milk is more appropriate than artificial food; the country more wholesome than a large city; and an inferior private dwelling better adapted than a large, overcrowded institution to the raising of an infant.

That the practice of uniting lying-in asylums with infant asylums or hospitals is a direct source of dangerous disease and fearful mortality.

That the accumulation of many infants under one roof, under the best possible circumstances, and with as gentle care as is observed in New York State and City, is conducive to ill-health and unavoidable mortality; this system having been given up in Europe for this very reason.

That, according to the statistics of our own large infant asylums, especially the Infant Hospital, under the charge of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction; the Catholic Foundling Asylum, under the charge of the Sisters of Charity; and the Nursery and Child's Hospital, under the charge of a board of lady managers—all in New York City—their infant mortality is immense, and equal to the mortality of the large foundling hospitals of Europe before a radical change in their system of management was instituted.

That the necessity of distributing abandoned infants among private families, especially in the country, is urgent.

That the Medical Society of this State recommend such a change in the method of caring for abandoned infants.

That the State should see that this change be made as speedily and fully as possible by all the

public and self-constituted authorities concerned in the care of foundlings ; inasmuch as it has positive responsibilities toward every member of society in general, and the young and feeble in particular.

That, however, the State should not interfere with private charity toward foundlings so long as the interests of the infants and the commonwealth are not injured.

That the State ought not to be held responsible for expenditures not incurred by itself nor under its own control ; that private charitable societies should not assume duties beyond their own means ; and, particularly, that while private charity and enterprise must be encouraged, private ambition and officiousness must not be indulged in at the expense of the taxpayers.

That, therefore, when private individuals or corporations ask the commonwealth for permission to administer charity on a large scale under the rules and regulations of a charter, this permission and charter does not involve that the State should be tributary to such individuals or corporations.

That, as medical men and citizens of the Republic, we are of the opinion that the maintenance of large institutions for the care of foundlings, by the payment to them by the State of eight dollars per head per month, is not productive of good results.

That the probability or possibility of frequent changes in the administration of such institutions, which are, moreover, liable to be placed under the charge of persons whose qualifications for the solution of questions of the greatest difficulty and importance are frequently doubtful, is a source of great

danger to both the infants and to the commonwealth.

That the supervision and control of all the abandoned infants of the State belong alone to the State, no matter whether they are sustained by the State or by private individuals or corporations.

That we see in such supervision and control no unrepublican centralization, but the performance of a duty of the commonwealth toward the feeble and dependent young.



THE FARMING-OUT SYSTEM FOR FOUNDLINGS.

THE publication in the present number of the Report on Foundlings and Foundling Institutions, made by Prof. Jacobi to the Medical Society of the State of New York, affords us another opportunity of calling the attention of the profession at large to some very important facts. Our readers are well aware that this will not be the first time that we have had occasion to comment upon papers on the same subject by the same author. The present report is an embodiment of all that has preceded it, and much more besides ; and, as a whole, must be considered the most elaborate, thoughtful, and painstaking document of its sort that has appeared for a long time.

Those of us who have given this subject their special attention, who have followed the discussion from its commencement, cannot fail to perceive that many of the points taken have been fortified by additional facts and observations. These latter are of such importance as, in our opinion, to warrant the publication of the report in full. In so doing we believe we discharge a duty we owe to a profession which has always interested itself in projects having for their aim the prevention of sickness and the preservation of human life. No class of the community has a stronger claim upon us, in this respect, than the one of which the paper in question treats.

On the principle that truth never loses anything by discussion, and that continual agitation of matters bearing upon reform is always in order so long as the evils which they are intended to remedy exist, we are ready to welcome the occasion which the report creates.

The care of foundlings involves a great many matters of detail, the importance of which upon the general question cannot be appreciated unless they are carefully studied. The report before us is so replete with the kind of information required that there can now be no excuse for ignorance of facts. We shall not, of course, attempt to go over the paper point by point—this would obviously be unnecessary ; but, as before intimated, we should neglect a duty we owe to our profession and to humanity if we did not take advantage of another opportunity of urging the adoption of the plan of reform proposed by Dr. Jacobi, and of endorsing the resolutions founded thereon and passed at the last meeting of the State Society.

In the discussion of the subject we must start with the assumption, based upon a law of nature, that the infant thrives best at its mother's breast ; that any departure from this condition is at the risk of the health of the little one, if not, in a certain majority of cases, of its life. A statistical examination substantiates the assumption and gives it all the significance and power of a fact.

A like examination into the relative advantages of country and city residences speaks, as strongly as figures can, in favor of the former as the rearing places for children. It is shown that the mortality

of foundlings in cities is actually three times that in rural districts. The reasons for this difference can be explained in many ways. First, they have the great advantage of purer air, the absence of all those diseases depending upon impurities in the atmosphere, and of overcrowding, the comparative non-liability to contagious diseases, better care and better nursing ; and, in bottle-fed infants, the facility with which fresh and pure milk is to be obtained.

The opposite of all these good effects are to be seen in the very institutions provided in our cities for the care of our little castaways. In them we have a concentration of all the disadvantages of living in the city. The legitimate child in any locality always has the best chance to live. It is reared in the bosom of a family ; it is during the first year, its greatest period of mortality, the recipient of undivided attention and care ; every want which the unceasing devotion of a mother's love can best appreciate is supplied ; and last, but not least, it is plentifully supplied with its natural food.

The poor innocent illegitimate is under precisely opposite conditions. Its best friend is practically a nonentity ; the very nourishment which it has a natural right to expect is denied it, and it is abandoned to the cold charity of a foundling asylum. The disadvantages under which it labors, commencing as they do from the actual fact of its birth, are increased by the very efforts made by the well-disposed to overcome them. The very asylums reared at so much cost, and conducted with so

much expense, are shown, by the very nature of their facilities for the congregation of individuals, and other conditions always found in the best-regulated institutions of the sort, to be the worst possible places for these little ones. The records of mortality prove this in such a conclusive manner that we are no longer innocent of wholesale slaughter if we do not protest against such institutions as a class and demand that they be appropriated to other uses. It is not our purpose to repeat the actual figures to substantiate this general statement, as such statistics are given in the report and can speak for themselves.

It would not be fair to presume that these results are due to mismanagement of these institutions, as each one, under separate supervision and different forms of government, gives very nearly the same ratio of figures. This is the case not only with such asylums as have been examined in our own country, but with similar institutions in Europe. The inference is certainly plain, in the absence of any other conditions in common, that the increased mortality is due to the asylum plan of caring for the foundlings.

The careful and conscientious study of this same question in Europe has resulted in the abandonment of foundling institutions as a class, and the substitution of the farming-out plan. Dr. Jacobi's report is a powerful argument in the same direction. The question presents itself to us, in this connection: Are we ready and willing to profit by the experience of others, or must we doggedly go over the same ground as those who

have now shown us an example? The only rational way to remedy the evils attending the asylum plan is to urge its abandonment, and the substitution of the buildings for houses of temporary reception for infants previous to their being sent to private families in the country to be nursed.

We agree with the report in the expediency, nay, the necessity, for the State to hold itself responsible for the care of foundlings thus distributed, and that all private enterprises not favoring such a plan should be discouraged, and all institutions controlled by self-constituted authorities should cease to exist. By the adoption of such a measure we should then have the responsibility where it belongs, and at the same time insure an efficiency and uniformity to a well-contrived system. It is obvious that neither of these conditions could be fulfilled by any Board of Directors, no matter what their standing in society might be, or by any Board of Trustees, however trustworthy. As is always the case under such circumstances, no one plan could be agreed upon; and the general good of the little ones would be wholly lost sight of in the competitive and partisan struggle for the welfare of the respective institutions.

There would be many difficulties to encounter in perfecting a plan of farming-out, such as is the case in Europe; but we should make a beginning, and trust to such expedients as would be prompted by the exigencies.

The subject is one which should interest our legislators, and stimulate them in the cause of society's dearest trusts to devise a suitable law to

cover all the requirements. This, it strikes us, can easily be done by the creation of a suitable number of Commissioners of Inspection, appointed by the Governor, who should not only have the control of the houses of reception, but of the respective families in which the infant is placed. If such officers could be aided by voluntary inspectors, as is the case in Berlin, the supervision would be more thorough and consequently more salutary.

It may seem a bold measure to deny the usefulness of institutions upon which so many dollars have been spent and so much political and social influence exerted ; but humanity is inexorable, and points out to us the necessity of abandoning hospitals whose best services to science must be summed up in their being promoters of the study of infantile pathology.

In conclusion, we commend the report to the careful, thoughtful study of the political economist, legislator, and humanitarian, in the hope that some practical good may come of the suggestions and conclusions therein contained.

VALEDICTORY REMARKS.

MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

THE second term of my office has reached its normal end. I avail myself of this opportunity, while about vacating this chair in behalf of the President-elect, to tender you my thanks for the honor twice conferred upon me, and to apologize for such shortcomings as are apt to be committed, in such a high office, by a man whose soul, it is true, may have been in the performance of his duty, whose experience and knowledge, however, were certainly not in proportion to his good-will. If there is any one whom I may have offended in performing the duties of my office, I ask his pardon; those, however, who have always looked upon my endeavors in behalf of this Society and the profession with favor and kindness will please accept my heartfelt thanks.

The last year has been, I believe, as successful as that which preceded it. The increase in our number has been steady, seventy-one members of the profession having been added to our list, while a number of names, part of them those of old and unusually valuable members, have been stricken from our rolls by death. The working of the committees has proved, on the whole, satisfactory, with the exception, perhaps, of one of them, in which a newly introduced feature—the subdivision

into specialties—might have worked better. A number of reports expected by the Society have not been forthcoming. As they were promised, however, we cannot say that the opinion of the Society, or of the members of the committee itself, was opposed to the change. On the contrary, further experience will have to show whether the subdivision of the reports of the Committee on Intelligence will not prove as satisfactory to us as it is in accordance with the rapid progress of the several branches of medical science.

As far as the Committee on Meteorology is concerned, the Chair last year appointed its members to serve also on the Committee on Diseases. It may be that some further experience is still required to decide the question whether its abolition as an independent committee is not a desideratum.

The following synopsis gives the most important features of the meetings held during the year past :

December Meeting.—Inaugural, and Paper on Foundling Asylums, by the President.

January Meeting.—Clinical Remarks on Diseases of the Conjunctiva and Cornea, by Dr. H. Althof.

Adjourned January Meeting.—Memorials of Drs. Bibbins, George T. Elliot, A. N. Gunn, and H. D. Bulkley.

February Special Meeting.—To discuss and take action on the bill entitled “An Act to protect the people against quackery and crime.”

February Meeting.—Vital Signs in Disease, with special reference to Clinical Thermometry, by Dr. L. D. Bulkley.

March Meeting.—The Chemistry, Physiology, Therapeutics, and Toxicology of Veratrum Album and Viride, and their Alkaloids, by Dr. E. Peugnet.

April Meeting.—The Labyrinth of the Ear, its Structure, Functions, and Diseases, by Dr. Knapp.

May Meeting.—The Physiology of Syphilitic Infection, as applied to the successive manifestations of the Disease, by Dr. F. N. Otis.

June Meeting.—Resection of Maxillary Bones without Incision, by Dr. Goodwillie.

September Meeting.—Nomination of Officers, and Paper on the Necessity of a Knowledge of Morbid Anatomy, illustrated by Cases, by Dr. E. G. Janeway.

The papers read before you were all very valuable. They did not all claim to have increased the stock of universal knowledge by the results of some original research, but by their own contents and the subsequent discussions they have added to *our* stock of knowledge. Real and rapid progress is the result of severe and solitary labor, such as can be performed, as a rule, only by those men whose sole or principal object in life is mental work. The scientific domain of medical societies like our own is to foster and harbor scientific tendencies and ambition in the individual members, keep them informed, and give them an opportunity to express their own thinking on scientific facts or subjects, and by speaking improve their very thinking. Societies like ours form, as it were, the small *municipia* in the republic of science, consisting, perhaps, of not many citizens of egregious proportions or resplendent faculties, but of those who are sound, conscientious, thinking, progressive, and humane; seekers of truth, honesty, and the good of the profession and of mankind; proud of their position in the midst of anthropological science, and modest in

the full knowledge that convictions are changeable, theories subvertible, and that seeking after truth is the only thing permanent.

Thus we ought to be proud to a higher degree of our facilities than of our faculties and accomplishments. Science is forever in its development, and even in its undeveloped state no single man has ever mastered it. This fact should be sufficient to extinguish vanity and self-complacency, qualities which are more common in an illiterate backwoods quack, or a gin-drinking sea captain, than a humanitarian and physician or a Laplace. Nor ought we, as physicians, to be so very proud of this our belonging to a profession *the access to which is, I am sorry to say, as easy as it ought to be difficult*. What we accomplish in the profession in the interest of professional, scientific, and social progress, in the seeking for truth and its applications, is the thing to be proud, although not to boast of.

What would you think of a physician who, on the standpoint of fifty years ago, would have boasted of his diagnostic accomplishments—auscultation and percussion in their cradles, and Bright's book not written? Or of a microscopist who, twenty-five years ago, diagnosed cancer by so-called cancer cells, which we now know to have the only peculiarity of being impossible and non-existing? Or of a pathologist who, twenty years ago, would explain cyanosis by a normal anatomical condition: the patency of the foramen ovale? As we would be unwilling to permit them to boast of their times, let us therefore be careful. We shall in our lives, I hope, throw off many an

error, learn many a new fact, and see light shed upon many a dark field. When we remember how we have outgrown our immediate predecessors in knowledge and, what is of more importance, in methods of investigation, let us be anxious not to deserve the smiles of the generation to come.

The meetings of the Society have been well attended. If any proof were necessary, the presence of one hundred and twenty members at the last election would be convincing. The same fact goes also to prove that the large majority of those in attendance were always members of the Society, not guests. The presence of the latter is surely pleasing, inasmuch as it exhibits, on their part, an interest in the persons of those who are expected to speak, or the topics to be discussed. As long as the legitimate objects of the Society are not interfered with, their visits are thankfully received. It is to be desired, however, that their interest in the person who is to be the lecturer of the evening should not be so powerfully superior to that in the subject discussed that their presence should be thought necessary, even at the expense of private study and the requisite rest. I do not believe that the presence of hundreds of first or second course students of medicine or law aids the objects of a learned society, or their own studies, which might be more profitably given to the dissecting room and to the notes taken in their didactic lectures. Nor do I think the members of the Society, provided they can find seats on such occasions, are gratified by the noisy applause, on especially hitting or satisfactory occasions, equal to that in a concert

room or circus. We find that men with their hearts in a cause, and aiming at knowledge, will but rarely applaud. In fact, the opportunities for an outbreak so enthusiastic as to overcome decorum and the dignity of science, ought to be considered to be very few in number indeed. Nor, finally, can I imagine the members of a society to feel like entering a discussion when the final decision is, as it were, entrusted to the hands and feet of those who expect to come up in a year or two for their examination in the elements of medicine.

Moreover, a scientific society is a select circle of persons whose general education, in at least a number of subjects, must be considered equal or nearly so. Unless such is the case, a fertile discussion is out of the question. Nor is it impossible that many a gentleman, if he means to be intelligible to both guests and members, will avail himself of a phraseology accessible to every beginner ; will avoid topics requiring more extensive preparatory studies ; in fact, the character of discussions and papers *may* suffer. You say there is no necessity for that, and guests do not determine the character of the proceedings. Still, there is no man who is not influenced by large masses, who have something intoxicating in themselves, and none who is superior to the wish to be understood by all who, for some reason or other, have come to hear him. While, then, it must be our object to be as numerous as we can—to count, in fact, all the members of the regular profession amongst our numbers, have as large meetings as possible, open our doors wide to every one who is competent, in the interest of ourselves

and the scientific subject to be discussed—we should not encourage or crave the visits of guests whose very studies ought to confine them to other fields and narrower limits. Their interests and ours, for the time being, are not the same ; if our proceedings are of such a character as to do justice to this Society and the standard of modern science, they cannot possibly gain by the presence of such persons in our circle, complimentary though it be. It is true we cannot close our doors, nor say who is a desirable or undesirable guest ; but the question once raised can be easily answered by any cool judgment. I do not hesitate to say that the meetings of a learned society are no place for a medical student, unless he be the exceptional one who, both by talent and work, is superior to hundreds of his fellows ; as I have never hesitated, for a dozen years past, to advise the students of the first course not to visit any professor's clinic. If two do the same thing it is not the same. Where the necessary preparation is wanting, it is wasting time to battle with the higher branches. This may appear a delicate question. If I speak of the subject at all to-night, I hope it will be understood that I unwillingly submit to it as one of the stern duties of the office which has been entrusted to my hands for such a long time, and which I am about to deliver into those of a worthy and more competent successor.

The last year has seen no such disturbances as did a previous one. I congratulate the Society on this proof, or at least outward show, of decorum and professional propriety. No charges have been

brought against any member, nor has any breach of professional ethics become public. No matter whether this is the result of nothing of the kind having occurred, or whether those offended or harmed have thought it below them to take notice of it, the result is a favorable one. Much valuable time has been saved, without the self-imposed discipline of the profession (which is the stricter, the looser the bands woven around us and our liberal profession by laws and statutes) having suffered in any way. We all remember to what extent, some time ago, our meetings, and a number of meetings of the *Comitia Minora*, were encroached upon by the pressure of individual claims, surely to the disadvantage of our legitimate duties. Many and various they are. I have in former times alluded to the many topics which might be subjects for discussion by this Society, and to the duties imposed upon us by our intimate connection with the political commonwealth. It is certainly our right and our duty to consider such matters as are of equal interest to both the citizens of the Republic and to physicians. Amongst those I should count, first of all, matters belonging to the preservation and the restoration of health. Hygiene in general, the condition of the institutions of education, charities and correction, in particular, belong to this class.

This very Medical Society of the County of New York, and the Medical Society of the State of New York, are the legitimate authorities, without whom, as we now stand, no law respecting in any way the public health ought to be passed. Is the responsibility too great for us? Where is the responsibility

to rest, except with those who have the required knowledge? Is it to be with the legislators, whose great merit consists in the fact that they had a majority of voters as ignorant as themselves? Or are we afraid of being accused of working in our own interest, when our discussions take hold of a subject of such vast importance to every living being; when, without remuneration and thanks, we improve the health of our neighbors, whose sickness would be of pecuniary advantage to us? Or are we to be afraid of being called the most terrible name on the tongue of a long-maltreated and thoughtless public—a “ring”? As long as we work for the public good, whether we are five hundred or a thousand, we need not be afraid to be called a ring. And if we were five instead of five hundred, this is the place in which the public interest, as far as health and life are concerned, ought to be considered and protected. In such questions of public safety the County Medical Society ought to take a decided stand, and not fear the other terrible words—to *commit themselves*. If there is a discrepancy of opinion, ours on one side and the misinformed public on the other, it is much better to *commit* ourselves—that is, to pronounce our opinion and conviction and knowledge, without fear or hesitation. If Socrates, St. Paul, Luther, Galileo, and Giordano Bruno, if Washington and Paine, had feared to commit themselves, where should we be to-day? Fortunately for mankind, there have always been men and rings who have not hesitated to commit themselves in behalf of what they knew to be right, or in opposition to what they considered wrong;

men, and sometimes rings, who would follow their convictions and consciences, no matter whether they expected to die with the crown of martyrdom or that of glory on their temples. Nothing will change more easily than the vociferous applause or curse of the populace ; no thanks will be more certain and perpetual than those of the genius of mankind for efforts and acts in the service of humanity.

I hope and trust that many questions of public interest will come before our forum, where they belong ; that all questions of health and hygiene requiring investigation and discussion will be raised and answered here ; that in true scientific ambition and co-operation, this Society will work with other equally interested societies and men ; that, moreover, purely scientific subjects—that is, those whose immediate connection with the trivial bread-and-butter question of every-day life is not yet found—will meet an ever-ready sympathy amongst us.

With these expectations and wishes for our welfare as a medical society, and as a professional, scientific, and public community, I retire from this chair, knowing that whatever one man can do in accomplishing tasks requiring honor, zeal, self-sacrifices, and capacity, will be done by my successor.

THE CARE OF FOUNDLINGS.

To the Editor of the Medical Record :

DEAR SIR:—The publication in the *Medical Record* of September 1st, by Dr. Foster, of “A Minority Report on Foundlings and Foundling Asylums,” reminds me of a failure on my part to perform a duty naturally belonging to the chairman of the committee appointed by the State Medical Society for the purpose of investigating the subject of foundlings and foundling institutions. I hasten, therefore, to request you to insert a very brief addition to the former report of that committee which has appeared in full in the *Medical Record* of November 15th, 1872. This addition was read before the State Medical Society on the second day of its meeting, at Albany, in February, 1873.

In referring to the *Record* of February 15th I find the following report : “Dr. A. Jacobi, of the Committee on Foundling Asylums, which was continued from the previous year, made the final report, and Dr. Joel Foster, who was last year added to the committee, read a minority report. The former was accepted by the Society, and adopted as an expression of their views on the subject.”

As far as I know, the final report of the committee has never been printed, except in a single medical journal. At all events the *Record*, after having given due attention and ample space to the subject

of foundlings, never contained that paper. While I plead guilty to my neglect in not communicating to you the final report, I still hope you will insert, at this late hour, the conclusions arrived at in the former extensive report and in this addition. Your readers will find no difficulty in deciding upon the merits of both the reports of the committee, carefully prepared in the course of a few years, and the "few remarks on the subject hastily offered," which Dr. Foster publishes as "A Minority Report."

Yours very respectfully,

A. JACOBI, M.D.,
*Chairman Committee on Foundlings
and Foundling Institutions.*

NEW YORK, September 9th, 1873.

REPORT.

Two years ago this Society appointed a committee, consisting of Dr. White, Buffalo ; Dr. Dean, Rochester ; Dr. Th. Hun, Albany ; Dr. Hutchison, Brooklyn ; and Dr. Jacobi, New York, to investigate and report, in the meeting of 1872, upon the following subjects :

1. The causes of the fearful mortality of abandoned infants in general, and those in large public institutions in particular.

2. The reasons for the giving up of large institutions, and the success of the dispersing system for abandoned infants, in every country of Europe, where the preservation of lives was an object.

3. The causes of the unusually large infant mortality in the institutions in charge of either public

or self-constituted authorities in New York City and State.

4. The plans and means for improving the condition of foundlings and abandoned children in New York City and State—

- a. During their infancy, when they are most subject to disease and death.
- b. During childhood and adolescence, when they require an education sufficient to make them useful members, and prevent them from becoming enemies of and dangerous to society.

That report was presented here a year ago. When parts of it, and the final conclusions of the same, had been read, it was, after a short discussion, resolved to accept the report, to continue the committee, and to add the name of Dr. Joel Foster, New York, who had participated in the discussion and appeared to promise valuable contributions to its working and results.

The committee again appears before you to claim your attention, this time for a few minutes only, but for some final expression of your appreciation of its motives and endeavors.

The report was published in the *Medical Record* of November 15th, 1872. Thus it has been before you for some time, and may have been read by not a few. Those who have read it, we fully believe, will feel as positive as we do of the absolute conclusiveness of the final results of our investigations. Those who have not read it are well prepared by their knowledge as medical men, and their sentiments and convictions as practical humanitarians, to judge of their merits. Thus we again submit to

you the conclusions of the report of last year for your adoption and support.

They read as follows :

“In accordance with the facts and conclusions contained in this report, which we have the honor of presenting to the Medical Society of the State of New York, we desire to propose the following :

“That the life and health of every infant are, both economically and morally, of paramount importance to society and to the commonwealth.

“That it is the duty of society and of the State to grant every infant the possibility of living and obtaining an education.

“That it can under no circumstances free itself of its responsibilities by throwing them upon private individuals ; but should take care of every infant deprived of its parental protectors by death or incompetency.

“That science and experience have united on certain principles to be observed in the raising of the young.

“That human breast milk is more appropriate than artificial food ; the country more wholesome than a large city ; and an inferior private dwelling better adapted than a large, overcrowded institution to the raising of an infant.

“That the practice of uniting lying-in asylums with infant asylums or hospitals is a direct source of dangerous disease and fearful mortality.

“That the accumulation of many infants under one roof, under the best possible circumstances, and with as gentle care as is observed in New York State and City, is conducive to ill-health and un-

avoidable mortality ; this system having been given up in Europe for this very reason.

“That according to the statistics of our own large infant asylums, especially the Infant Hospital, under the charge of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction ; the Catholic Foundling Asylum, under the charge of the Sisters of Charity ; and the Nursery and Child’s Hospital, under the charge of a board of lady managers—all in New York City—their infant mortality is immense, and equal to the mortality of the large foundling hospitals of Europe before a radical change in their system of management was instituted.

“That the necessity of distributing abandoned infants among private families, especially in the country, is urgent.

“That the Medical Society of this State recommend such a change in the manner of caring for abandoned infants.

“That the State should see that this change be made as speedily and fully as possible, by all the public and self-constituted authorities concerned in the care of foundlings ; inasmuch as it has positive responsibilities toward every member of society in general, and the young and feeble in particular.

“That, however, the State should not interfere with private charity toward foundlings, so long as the interests of the infants and the commonwealth are not injured.

“That the State ought not to be held responsible for expenditures not incurred by itself nor under its own control ; that private charitable societies should not assume duties beyond their own means ; and,

in particular, that while private charity and enterprise must be encouraged, private ambition and officiousness must not be indulged in at the expense of the taxpayers.

“That, therefore, when private individuals or corporations ask the commonwealth for permission to administer charity on a large scale, under the rules and regulations of a charter, this permission and charter does not involve that the State should be tributary to such individuals or corporations.

“That, as medical men and citizens of the Republic, we are of the opinion that the maintenance of large institutions for the care of foundlings, by the payment to them by the State of eight dollars per head per month, is not productive of good results.

“That the probability or possibility of frequent changes in the administration of such institutions, which are, moreover, liable to be placed under the charge of persons whose qualifications for the solution of questions of the greatest difficulty and importance are frequently doubtful, is a source of great danger to both the infants and to the commonwealth.

“That the supervision and control of all the abandoned infants of the State belong alone to the State, no matter whether they are sustained by the State or by private individuals or corporations.

“That we see in such supervision and control no unrepugnant centralization, but the performance of a duty of the commonwealth toward the feeble and dependent young.”

Your Committee recommend that the conclusions of their report be adopted by the Medical Society of

the State of New York, as best adapted to the requirements of humanity and science, and laid before the legislative body of this State as the expression of its views.

We might go further and say that we, citizens and taxpayers, protest against squandering our and the people's means on institutions gotten up, indeed, in good faith and for laudable ends, but abortive in their results, dangerous through their effects, and destructive both to the public treasury and the life of the young. Year after year, time and efforts of both individuals and corporations are spent in the attempt at obtaining a large share of the public income for private charitable, or so-called charitable, institutions. All of us who have studied the list of such establishments as participate in the bountiful distribution of public funds know with pangs of sorrow and disgust that this distribution, in many of the items, is injudicious, and better adapted to serve private ends than the requirements of charity or the public good. We do not pretend to legislate for the consciences of our legislators as elected by the people, but we insist upon public resources not being decreed away upon the recommendations, pleadings, and lobbying of private individuals. We insist upon our voice being heard in those matters which we, strengthened by our knowledge of the scientific facts, and by a careful study of the results of both scientific and unscientific experiences, believe to understand better than those who, not fortified by knowledge, are easily misled by sentimental representations and high-phrased eulogies of alleged or supposed charity. At all events, we insist

upon the State Board of Charities, or another appropriate and well-informed Board, to have full power to investigate the claims of those who mean to thrive at the public expense, or pretend to carry the load of public duties on private shoulders. And we beg and pray that the Legislature of this State may not forget that the taxpayers in the community may be remembered when public funds are distributed broadcast in mistaken liberality, and that the earnest humanitarians will never be the importune leeches of the treasury. And we also beg that when the claims of private persons or societies are considered valid because of the praiseworthiness of their undertaking, before their requests be granted and large amounts of public funds legislated away, the question be answered if those amounts are, or are not, in an undue proportion to the results promised, claimed, or obtained.

All of which is respectfully submitted, and, together with our report of last year, recommended for adoption.

DR. THOMAS HUN, Albany,

DR. WHITE, Buffalo,

DR. DEAN, Rochester,

DR. HUTCHISON, Brooklyn,

DR. JACOBI, New York,

Committee.

A REPLY TO DR. WM. A. HAMMOND.*

NEW YORK, September 15th, 1874.

To the Editor of the New York Medical Journal.

DEAR MR. EDITOR:—The last number of your valuable *Journal* (page 262) contains, among many more appropriate subjects, an unprovoked attack upon me, my knowledge—or rather ignorance—my nationality, and my animus. What do you expect me to do now? I must not prove that I am in possession of text books from which to quote the origin of some nerves, and the most frequent microscopical changes undergone in a number of pathological conditions†—it is superfluous, I think. I must not swagger—it is ungentlemanly. I must not fly into a passion—it is not a wholesome exercise. I must not sue you for damages—you may, just at present, be averse to sparing the half-million which I should desire to relieve you of. After all, I think I shall act on the principle that Willie must be forgiven, as Willie is the bigger of us two; and that my reviewer is bigger than I, he has himself stated, with all the

*New York Medical Journal, 1874, p. 423.

†“I ascertained the existence of granular and fatty degeneration of the gray substance and of the nerve roots, together with nuclear proliferation of the neuroglia cells of the white substance.”—New York Medical Journal, p. 264.

pompous dignity of offended innocence and the modest self-assurance of an unassailable oracle, and, by so stating, proved with surprising logic that no member of the majority of the jury knows anything about microscopy and histology, and that he has "yet to learn that they are qualified." Still, he may learn yet, as he does learn very fast—a proof of which you may find in the following :

You read on page 265 : "It was very apparent to me, during the course of my examination before the jury, that one of them at least (Dr. Jacobi) had somehow or other imbibed the notion that the changes were the consequence of the action of the alcohol which I had used as a hardening agent. The absurdity of this idea will be apparent when I state that my process was almost identical with that employed by Lockhart Clarke in his studies of the constitution of the nerve centres, that it is one sanctioned by Frey, and that I have employed it for years many in the examination of diseased nerve tissues."

Now, Mr. Editor, the facts connected with this matter are these : Toward the close of the examination of the witness, Dr. Hammond, I asked him, briefly and politely, these questions : "Could the changes which you report to have found, and represent on these drawings, have been produced by your mode of treating the specimen—that is, by alcohol?" Witness said literally : "Oh, yes, they might." Second question : "Could alcohol produce the same changes in healthy tissue?" Answer : "Oh, yes, that is quite possible."

Am I right in saying that witness is apt to learn

very fast, when what he pronounced possible one day was an "absurdity" a short time after? Does the warmth of his expression remind you, or not, of the genuine or feigned fanaticism of converts in religion, who are said to be the bitterest enemies and persecutors of their own former faith? And is it safe to discuss scientific questions seriously with an antagonist whose answers and convictions are subject to be changed in a few weeks, even to the degree of such "employment, for many years, of alcohol in the examination of nerve tissue"? After all, he may, at present, "defy any jurymen of the majority to produce, by any degree of maceration in alcohol, such changes in the brain, medulla oblongata, or spinal cord as he has detected." The jury, however, could not, from his answers to my simple questions, conclude that he had employed this method for many years and always succeeded in obtaining reliable results; on the contrary, the jury imbibed the notion that Dr. Hammond meant just what he answered.

At this point, Mr. Editor, let me state a fact. The verdict of the jury, in spite of the attempt to induce us to eulogize Dr. Hammond for his alleged discoveries, did not imply an expression of distrust of Dr. Hammond, his methods or results. He has himself invited the expression of such distrust, if it existed. As this is so, I must confess that I do doubt the possibility of a satisfactory examination of a medulla oblongata and spinal cord which had remained in alcohol only two days or less. Lockhart Clarke (and Frey), to whom our histologist refers, hardens nerve tissue in winter five or six

days, at least, and then only proceeds to the final steps of staining with carmine, etc. As Dr. Hammond has neglected to refer to his authorities any further than by mentioning names, let me add that his quotations might be more full and more correct. I beg of you, Mr. Editor, to compare Lionel S. Beale, fourth (London) edition, 1868, page 145,* and Frey, "Das Mikroskop und die mikroskopische Technik," fourth edition, Leipzig, 1871, page 203.† You will by so doing find that Dr. Hammond happens to misquote his authorities and misstate their methods.

If Dr. Hammond wishes to disarm distrust and prove his capacity for mastering any difficulties which stood in the way of that remarkable report, published within a few days in a daily paper, he might have presented his specimens to the jury whom he himself calls his colleagues. Let me remind Dr. Hammond—he must excuse me for alluding to a European custom—that in scientific societies of Europe a scientific discovery is invariably controlled by the criticism of an examining

* "In summer the cord, however fresh when immersed in the spirit, remains more or less spongy, instead of becoming firm and dense in the course of five or six days."

† "Lockhart Clarke, who was imitated by Lenhossek, has for many years employed the following method: The fresh spinal cord is hardened in equal parts of alcohol and water on the first day, in pure alcohol afterward, until thin sections can be made. This result is generally obtained, in the cold season, after five or six days. After this a mixture of one part of acetic acid and three parts of alcohol is added for an hour or two," etc.

committee before it is given to the public. No such thing occurred here. It is a peculiar custom with us Americans to refer to a jury—not always even of medical men—questions that ought to be answered by specialists. Usage has sanctioned this custom so far; moreover, it was justified, perhaps, by the non-existence of any more formally appointed scientific committee; perhaps, also, by the most extreme informality offered by the publication of uncontrolled alleged discoveries in a daily newspaper; and finally, as far as Dr. Hammond is concerned, by his willingness to testify before the jury.

But the jury's verdict he dislikes.

I do not find fault with him for that. But we were not charged to say pleasant things—true or false—of anybody, but simply to state our conviction. If Dr. Hammond had specimens to show, why did he not present them before the (medical) jury, as, many weeks afterward, he proposed to show them before the Neurological Society? Are drawings proofs? Must they be necessarily correct? Do they depend, or not, on individual skill? May they even be, or not, the result of imagination, like ever so many outbursts of professional poetry met with in the reports of wonderful cases and still more wonderful cures? May a jurymen, with all the responsibility of office and oath upon him, be permitted to doubt? If the great number of resolutions kindly prepared for our signature by the foreman of the jury, and heaping upon the alleged scientific discoveries and their author all the eulogizing epithets which would have sounded

better from the lips of enthusiastic young students replete with awe and ignorance, had been signed by us, under oath, would he still be of the opinion that both coroner and jury had overstepped their rights and duties? And does he not know, as the informers have busied themselves about his ears, that the "motion to adjourn sine die" was put and lost long after the string of eulogies had been voted down, with all the scornful contempt which one of the gentlemen, who are at present admired for their "manliness," could crowd into his scathing words of condemnation?

Hardly; for the readiness with which he proposes to exculpate two of the members of the jury, because of "manly" notes addressed to him, proves the standard by which Dr. Hammond measures the justifiability of the expression of an honorable man's mind in the performance of public duties. That those gentlemen have spoken differently in the jury box and in their notes, I am not quite ready or anxious to believe. Besides, if ever the motives or inducements connected with those notes should become publicly known, we may expect a rich contribution to the coining of "golden opinions."

It is true I have written no "manly note" to excuse or explain my verdict. Neither the coroner nor the foreman of the jury required me to do so. Therefore my motive in voting with the majority is sheer "animosity." And the reason of my animosity? The professor of nervous derangements finds it in the fact that he is not a "German." My reply is—as he is in the "denying" and "defying"

mood—only this one : that, after having been a member and close observer of the New York medical profession for twenty-one years, I “deny” and “defy” his power to rouse the spirit of a narrow-minded nativism.

Besides, how does he come to know of the secret proceedings of the jury ? And if he learned them from officious informers, who had no right to divulge them, how did he permit his shrewd judgment to be so clouded as to take notice of them ? The undisputed fact about my “animosity” is this : that, beyond a general statement of my views, my remarks were few and measured, though positive, and not dictated by animosity or ill-feeling. Dr. Hammond does not appear to comprehend that, even if he had a prejudice against a person, an honorable man would rise above personalities in the performance of public duties.

When the amiable, frank men came with their reports and apologies, did it not occur to him that a report which implied a violation of confidence ought not to inspire confidence ? And, as he is so absolutely convinced of his being right and our being wrong, does he not know that “Heaven itself prepares good men with Crosses” ? And could he not take and bear his “Cross” in silence and the consciousness of innocence ? That would, indeed, have been a dignified rebuke to animosity and ignorance.

But Dr. Hammond willed otherwise. His offended sensitiveness excited his vaso-motor nerves, and stimulated the vessels of his gray substance into anomalous circulation, and his cerebral cells

into emotional hyperæsthesia—and he rashly rushed into publicity.

Yours very meekly,

A. JACOBI.

110 WEST 34TH STREET.

ANNUAL RULES OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

I. ABOUT NURSING BABIES.

Overfeeding does more harm than anything else. Nurse a baby of a month or two every two or three hours.

Nurse a baby of six months and over, five times in twenty-four hours, and no more.

When a baby gets thirsty in the meantime, give it a drink of water or barley water. *No sugar.* In hot weather—but in the hottest days only—mix a few drops of whiskey with either water or food, the whiskey not to exceed a teaspoonful in twenty-four hours.

II. ABOUT FEEDING BABIES.

Boil a teaspoonful of powdered barley (grind it in a coffee grinder) and a gill of water, with a little salt, for fifteen minutes, strain it, and mix it with half as much boiled milk and a lump of white sugar. Give it, lukewarm, through a nursing bottle.

Keep bottle and mouthpiece in a bowl of water when not in use.

Babies of five or six months, half barley water and half boiled milk, with salt and white sugar.

Older babies, more milk in proportion.

When babies are very costive, use oatmeal instead of barley. Cook and strain.

When your breast milk is half enough, change off between breast milk and food.

In hot summer weather try the food with a small strip of blue litmus paper. If the blue paper turns red, either make a fresh mess or add a small pinch of baking soda to the food.

Infants of six months may have beef tea or beef soup once a day, by itself or mixed with the other food.

Babies of ten or twelve months may have a crust of bread, and a piece of rare beef to suck.

No child under two years ought to eat at your table. Give no candies; in fact, nothing that is not contained in these rules, without a doctor's order.

III. ABOUT SUMMER COMPLAINT.

It comes from overfeeding and hot and foul air, never from teething. Keep doors and windows open. Wash your children with cold water at least twice a day, and oftener in the very hot season.

When babies vomit and purge, give nothing to eat or drink for four or six hours, but all the fresh air you can. After that time you give a few drops of whiskey in a teaspoonful of ice water every ten minutes, but not more, until the doctor comes.

When there is vomiting and purging give no milk.

Give no laudanum, no paregoric, no soothing syrup, no teas.

RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AFTER THE DEATH OF DR. ERNST KRACKOWIZER BY THE MEDICAL BOARD OF
MOUNT SINAI HOSPITAL.

THE Medical Board of Mount Sinai Hospital met at the residence of the President, Dr. Willard Parker, 41 East 12th street, New York, October 1st, 1875, when the following report was read and adopted :

The Medical Board of Mount Sinai Hospital meet to-night for the purpose of giving expression to their deep sorrow at the death of Dr. Ernst Krackowizer. A few resolutions of any nature whatsoever would not suffice to do justice to the memory of one on whom the most erudite and experienced surgeons of the country looked as their equal ; who was recognized as a superior pathologist by the foremost men of the American profession ; admired and called in council by all for his learning, skill, sound judgment, philosophical profoundness, and urbanity of manner ; whose only ambition was incorruptible probity for himself and the elevation of the profession and mankind in general, and who, therefore, participated and led in every effort—professional, social, and political—in behalf of his exalted views and aims. In their prosecution he spent his strength and health, equally with his means, while his generosity was surpassed only by his modesty.

When such a man is removed from his sphere of usefulness the universal feeling is that of a universal calamity. As his immediate colleagues, however, we deem it proper to simply express the deep sense of our bereavement. The Mount Sinai Hospital loses in Dr. Krackowizer a most zealous and successful surgeon and counsellor, whose services have been of invaluable importance to the Hospital. Both the Medical Board and the suffering sick will always remember them with both gratitude and sadness; and therefore the Medical Board, knowing what they have lost themselves, avail themselves of this sad opportunity to express to the family of the deceased their heartfelt sympathy with their loss, which cannot possibly be either repaired or forgotten.

A. JACOBI,
Chairman of the Committee.

RESOLUTIONS

BY THE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE COUNTY OF
NEW YORK.

THE committee appointed to prepare resolutions in regard to the death of Dr. Krackowizer respectfully submit the following :

Resolved, That in the death of Dr. Krackowizer this Society has sustained the loss of a member who, by the interest he always manifested in its proceedings, contributed in no small degree to its prosperity.

Resolved, That having obtained foremost rank in our profession by his great learning, unsurpassed skill, honorable bearing to his associates, and unselfish devotion of time and money to the interest of the healing art and its followers, we owe to his memory a debt of gratitude which cannot be estimated.

Resolved, That the distinguished position which he, as a citizen of his adopted country, had secured among public men by his sound judgment and ardent patriotism, called for and received the unqualified commendation of all classes in the community.

Resolved, That his bright example as a physician, a scholar, and a citizen should ever be held as a model for imitation by all who seek to advance professional or secular interests.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the President and Secretary, be sent to the family of the deceased and to the medical journals.

ELLSWORTH ELIOT, M.D.,
HERMANN GULEKE, M.D.,
A. JACOBI, M.D.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ERNST
KRACKOWIZER, M.D.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF MEDICINE IN THE STATED MEETING
OF NOVEMBER 4TH, 1875.

ALLOW me, Mr. President, to offer an expression of my gratitude for the honor you conferred upon me when you permitted me to speak before this Academy in memory of Dr. Ernst Krackowizer. I am well aware that you appointed me for this office, sacred and dear to me, for no peculiar fitness of mine, but out of regard for our deceased friend, who for nearly twenty years both honored and benefited me by his intimate and unwavering friendship. With this knowledge, and from this point of view, I have gladly accepted the opportunity to speak of Dr. Krackowizer before this Academy, for which he worked so assiduously and effectively, and which he both loved and graced so much. With no scientific society was he more intimately connected, for none did he more permanently strain his many powers, and none deserves more than this Academy to cherish and refresh the memory of one who cannot be forgotten, because it will be no mean task to fill his vacant chair.

You remember, Mr. President, that Dr. Krackowizer, in the last year or two of his life, while no-

body ever saw him flagging or faltering in the performance of his many duties, looked less strong and hearty than in former times. His features were often haggard, and an expression of wearisome care and overwork shaded his brows. His most intimate friends looked upon him with uneasiness and sorrow, and would express sometimes their fear lest some acute disease would not find in him sufficient vitality and power of resistance. Their anxieties were awakened when, in the early part of July, he looked paler and more exhausted than ever, and when he was compelled to desist from working half a day from time to time. Still he was about. Up to the 9th of August he was in steady, anxious attendance upon an old and intimate patient, who died at that time, and whose autopsy he superintended and partially performed. That was his last effort. Every one present at the funeral remarked that he was sick ; after the funeral he went to his residence in Sing Sing, never to return to this city, the field of his labors and honors.

His typhoid fever, although it preyed upon his mind considerably, and depressed and discouraged him much, took a very favorable course. There was in due time enlargement of the spleen and roseola, there were the regular temperature curves, there was a little catarrhal diarrhoea in the beginning, and again some diarrhoea on the ninth or tenth day, but there were no bronchial symptoms of much account, absolutely no delirium, no very high temperatures, and no frequent pulse. During all the first three weeks of his sickness the

thermometer never ranged above $104\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, his pulse never rose above 88. Convalescence commenced, there was no fever, and twice was he out of bed, enjoying the outlook over the green lawn and the shadows of the trees, and the sunbeam playing on the foliage, as only he could, with his intense love of the eternal beauties of nature. About the 7th of September he was taken with diarrhœa, which soon reduced what little strength he had. Some active treatment was commenced soon, and in a day or two he appeared to improve. A new attack of diarrhœa, more severe than before, set in on the 12th. From that time he began to sink, the diarrhœa became uncontrollable, occasional darting pains, peritonitic, made their appearance, pressure became painful here and there; finally, on the 16th, his stomach refused to accept a sufficient supply of food. Henceforth the question was only one of time and favoring circumstances. If his digestive powers would suffice to sustain him until his diarrhœa could be effectually stopped he might live, not otherwise. He knew it as well as his physicians. He spoke of it more quietly, more convincingly, than his physicians dared to fear. No Socrates ever spoke of his approaching death with more equanimity than Krackowizer, whenever the subject was mentioned. Only, Socrates did not suffer pain long weeks before he died, and his brain and mind were not influenced by a long sickness when he conversed about death in his dying hours. Krackowizer had to suffer from the agonizing symptoms of his entero-peritonitis, after having been enfeebled by his previous sickness, up

to the hour of his death. Before a few quiet minutes closed that wonderfully active and harmonious life he suffered severely, all the time preserving the clearness of his mind and the goodness of his heart. In his last hours, now and then, while always suffering intensely, he would speak of something to be looked after when he would be gone, had a word of pity for a friend who would badly miss him, or a smile for a child whom he would send out of the room to spare her the agony of seeing such a father die. Finally he succumbed in the afternoon of the 23d of September.

About half a year ago Dr. Krackowizer, in a conversation with a friend, touched upon the usual forms of referring to the deceased members of medical and other societies. The customary expressions of esteem and regret, the appreciation of the inscrutability of Providence, appeared to him more than superfluous. Everything monotonous, habitual, and therefore unmeaning and unspiritual, he revolted against. Never appreciating or acknowledging that he was one of those whose brow had been touched by the genius of intellectual and moral superiority, it could not enter his mind that what would be words of sympathy, it is true, but words only in the cases of many other men, would be words borne out by the spirit of holy truth in his own case. He went so far as to say that, if ever he knew his death to approach, he would rather resign all his honors and memberships than expose the large number of societies to which he belonged to the necessity of drawing up and publishing a string of preambles and resolutions. He has not succeeded

in acting upon this idea of his. If he had, it would have made no difference. It was quite consistent with both the greatness and the modesty of that man to avoid display, but it was also consistent with the good sense of the public, the general sorrow, the universal appreciation of his worth and services, that the expressions of sympathy, of sorrow, poured in after he was dead. Hundreds of men of all ranks and stations—men of science, medical men, merchants, poor workmen—crowded the quiet thoroughfares of the far-off village in which he died and found his resting place ; a score of societies and corporations gave official expression to the deep sense of their bereavement ; four thousand persons filled Steinway Hall to overflowing when the public at large honored themselves by honoring the memory of the man whose loss every one deploras as his own. And to-night the medical profession of the city has assembled to listen to a few words which, if they could claim anything, would endeavor to claim but one merit—that of absolute simplicity and truthfulness. In the case of this man nothing is required but to relate his life. No eulogy will ever reach the eloquence of his life and death. To tell the story of the life of a great and good man in the presence of the old, for them to remember and enjoy ; of the young, for them to admire and profit by, is to preach the best of sermons.

Ernst Krackowizer was born on the 3d of December, 1821, in "Spital am Pyhrn"—hospitium ad Montem Pyhrn, as it is called in old annals—a small town in Upper Austria. His father, Ferdinand, was an officeholder under the imperial gov-

ernment, in very moderate circumstances; of liberal political principles, and therefore suspected and neglected by those in power ; of a high order of intellect, and given to philological and historical studies, and therefore connected with many authorities in the domain of learning and science. He died at the age of forty-nine, in 1826. His mother, Therese Richter, a modest and cultured woman, died at the age of seventy-two, in 1867. He had five brothers, and one sister who died at the age of thirteen years. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Krackowizer moved to Kremsmünster, a larger town, with a "gymnasium" (college), in order to increase the opportunities of her sons for a thorough education. There it was that Ernst Krackowizer completed his preliminary and classical studies, before, in 1840, he matriculated in the medical faculty of the University of Vienna.

Here he soon obtained an enviable reputation as a thorough student. Endowed with a remarkable memory, rapid perception, and clear judgment, he commanded the respect of his teachers for his accomplishments. His genial disposition, earnestness of purpose, readiness of wit, and sparkling humor endeared him to his fellow-students, whose regard and love for him increased almost to fanaticism. While thus combining study and enjoyment, he neglected none of the many qualities of his richly gifted nature. The first impressions of his childhood and youth were such as to awaken all the best instincts of a young being. Upper Austria, with its forests, mountains, and valleys, stretching from the Danube to the Alps, is one of the most

beautiful countries of the globe. Its population, thoroughly German, is one of the most genial and poetical. Popular song and poetry embellish the existence of rich and poor alike. Here it was that Ernst Krackowizer was first imbued with his undying love of nature on one hand ; on the other, with that of music, and art in general, and his warm affection for and participation in the life of the people. Thus, with all the warmth of his heart and the spiritual tendencies of his mind, he proves to the last the observation of philosophers that the individual is the product, to a great extent, of the circumstances he lives in ; and of historians, that nations are shaped by their soil and environs and climate. Here it was also where Krackowizer contracted his predilection for physical exercise. Twelve times, in the autumn vacations, would he travel on foot, knapsack on his shoulders, over valleys and mountains, from the Danube to Venice ; over the Alps, through Hungary and Croatia ; always collecting zoölogical and botanical specimens, studying the country and people, strengthening his body and enriching his mind. Many times, in later years, would he refer to these meanderings, never forgetting the name of any mountain peak he had climbed, and remembering the passes and byways and travelling incidents with remarkable fidelity.

The third year of his studies he passed in Pavia, where he was drawn in part by his desire to learn the Italian language, more, however, by his poetical longing for the country where Horace smiled and Petrarca sung, where Roman greediness

and success accumulated untold treasures of science and art, and each field is glorified with the tales of German victories and defeats. His fourth and fifth years were again spent in Vienna, where he graduated. At this period of his life he gained the first-fruits of his superior intellect and hard work, in being admitted to the special operative course, under the supervision, at that time, of one of the greatest European surgeons—Prof. Schuh. This course lasted two years, after which time he moved from Vienna to a small town, Steyer, for the purpose of engaging in medical and surgical practice. But after a very few months Prof. Schuh requested him to become his clinical assistant. Thus he again appeared in Vienna, the joy of his old teacher, the pride of his former fellow-students, the example of the younger men. Schuh was no longer his professor, he was his friend. He took him into his family, he made him accompany him on his extensive tours through Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Italy. In all of these countries he made warm friends amongst the celebrities of the time, all of whom admired the character, the knowledge, the spirit of the young physician and surgeon, whose enthusiasm was equalled only by his powers. He was at that time the first person on whom the anæsthetic influence of chloroform was tried in Vienna, in the amphitheatre of the surgical clinic.

The year 1848 drew near. The thunder storm which raged over Europe reached Vienna first of all the great capitals of Europe, after Paris had fired the first revolutionary cannon. No one here, un-

less he have made a special study of the history of that time, can imagine the flame of enthusiasm lit up in the young hearts of the nation. If you remember the trembling excitement, the daring, the longing, the surprise, the courage, the wild enthusiasm, the holy fire of that far-off day when every brick in New York City was covered with flags, when there was no trading and cheating and note shaving in New York City, but a sacred rage in the hearts of the people, and the consciousness of great needs and the approach of great deeds—I speak of the day after the fall of Fort Sumter was known to have occurred—if you remember that time when the crusade for the restoration of the Union was preached on all corners and from all roofs—you have an idea of the spirit which animated and emboldened the youth of Germany and Austria. The best of the nation no longer in the lecture rooms or the shops, but on the barricades or the battle-fields. The greater the previous rottenness or corruption, the more powerful the reaction in favor of political freedom and liberal institutions. The longer the sleep, the more rapid and vigorous the waking up. The young men of the universities, with their culture and enthusiasm, were the special and universal hope and pride of the masses. Whenever they meant to be so they were the leaders of the political movements. Thus it occurred that, for some time in the days of September and October, 1848, the students of Vienna, with a few older friends, most of them also connected with the university, were the masters and leaders and advisers of a vast empire. For at that time, as Paris has

always been the spiritual centre of France, the soul of all Austria was in the great hall of the University of Vienna.

Is it necessary to say on which side in that contest Ernst Krackowizer was to be found? That he participated in the revolution?

No; he did not participate, he led. The example of the medical classes, the superior savant, the dexterous operator, became the example and a leader of the revolutionists. No more books and bistouries. Henceforth the sword. Conscious of what he was doing, he stood foremost among the organizers and leaders. Under the authority of General Bem he commanded an important position on the walls of Vienna. His resistance to the besieging and, at last, conquering Croats was most persistent, and when he finally gave way, and laid down his arms with his enthusiastic followers, he was amongst the last to give up opposition and hope. A few years ago I entered, a stranger, the lecture room of Prof. Spaeth, in Vienna. Reading my card, he exclaimed: "You come from New York, you know Krackowizer." And with sparkling eyes he turned to his audience: "I was his lieutenant in those days. Tell us of him."

From the battlefield he returned to the clinic. Then commenced the lynching called martial law. The Austrian youth not fallen on the field of honor were hunted down by the Croats, who had saved what is called the throne. The blood of Blum, Messenhauser, and Jellinek had been shed, and still Krackowizer held out in the "Allgemeine Krankenhaus." But come they did, finally, and then a

last he looked out for his safety. He escaped from Vienna, took refuge in the mountain home of his future father-in-law, fled from there over unknown parts into the Bavarian territory, thence to Frankfurt, thence to Tübingen. In Tübingen he found friends. There he had been with his teacher and friend, Schuh, and had formed the acquaintance of Prof. Victor von Bruns, who still enjoys his work and well-merited reputation. Prof. Bruns made Dr. Krackowizer his clinical assistant; the university granted him the right to deliver lectures. The Government, out of fear of Austria, objected; but the university insisted upon its right to make its own appointment, in spite of the Government. Thus he remained nine months, worked and taught, formed acquaintances and friendships with the eminent men of all scientific circles, and of poets such as Uhland and Schwab. But the days of the revolution were numbered. More and more increased the power of reactionary Austria, and the government of the small kingdom, Würtemberg, was no longer able to resist Austria's demand for the extradition of Krackowizer. Timely warning came, and he fled north. In the lecture rooms of the University of Kiel his voice was heard next. But the Schleswig-Holsteinian war, nominally a people's war, actually a war of Prussia and Austria against the last remnants of the revolutionary people, drew near its end. The Austrians approached, and Krackowizer, who had some time previously declined to accept the appointment of Medical Director of the Insane Asylum in Zurich, Switzerland, fled again.

The revolution was doomed ; the thrones were glued together again with the blood of the cultured, self-sacrificing youth of the country. Thousands were still hunted down ; the prisons were flowing over with the intelligence of the land ; high treason and lese-majesty were the passwords which delivered the flower of the martyred population into the hands of brutal beadles ; hundreds of thousands sought a refuge beyond the sea—and then Krackowizer shook the dust off his feet and left for America in May, 1850. In spite of the turmoil of battlefields and constantly changing population, his name was one of the few which were still mentioned when I trod the same ground in Kiel and Rendsburg a few months afterward.

Thus Austria lost one of its best men, at a time when he and his like would have been most absolutely needed.

And what was the condition of German medicine at that time, and particularly that of medicine at Vienna ?

Symptomatology and idealism had full sway in Germany and Austria in the early part of the century. The French had developed anatomical facts and principles. Laennec had discovered immortal maxims in the diagnosis of disease, not knowing, any more than the Viennese themselves, that he had had in the last century a successful predecessor in the person of the author of "*Inventa Nova*," the Austrian Auenbrugger. The only real progress in Germany, which at that time brought forth Hahnemann's theory of the psora and his wanton postulation of an axiomatic therapeutical principle, was

made by the physiologists, such as Reil, Autenrieth, Meckel, Rudolphi, and Burdach. Besides these encyclopædists there were monographers, such as Tiedemann and Gmelin, with their investigations on digestion (1826) ; E. H. Weber, in his treatises on pulse, absorption, hearing, and sound (1834); W. Weber, with his book on the mechanics of the organs of walking ; and, finally, Johannes Müller, with his universal physiology and his special investigations, histological and physiological. Chemistry also claimed prophetic and revolutionary powers ; but Liebig, its principal flagbearer, was too much of an idealist and egotist to grasp the immensity of medical science and its requirements. Less than he, a great and ambitious man has seldom succeeded in accomplishing for medicine.

About that time, when the principal progress in medicine which was accomplished all through Germany consisted in translations of and criticisms upon foreign literature, there appeared in Vienna a treatise by Prof. Carl Rokitansky on internal intestinal strangulations (1836), and in the same year an essay by Dr. Skoda on percussion. Neither was much appreciated in either Austria or Germany until, in 1841, Wunderlich took them up, and proved that not only were new facts discovered by both, but, what was more important, new principles were involved in their writings. Rokitansky studied not only the anatomical results of disease on his dissecting tables, but tried to obtain an insight into their genetic origin. At the same time, however, he was phantastic and easily carried away. The principal exaggeration on his part was the as-

sumption of a number of pre-existing "crases," conditions of the blood—a doctrine which is still cherished by some of those who believe more in the use of glibly pronounced Greek terms than in a thorough insight into a pathological process. It is true that he must not be held responsible for the croupous, albuminous, exanthematic, fibrinous, aphthous, and puerperal crases, but the first step in that direction was his, and would have been still more detrimental if it had not been for the above exaggerations, which carried their remedy with them. For Engel and others spared neither him nor his followers, and the process of purification commenced in the very same Vienna which engendered the dangerous doctrine. Skoda was more positive and sober than Rokitansky. Guided by physiology and experimental observation, he explained the symptoms of percussion and auscultation, and with the aid of medicinal agents he tried to correct and develop his views. But, with all the reasoning powers and the immense knowledge at his command, here was his Philippi. The physiological action of medicines was not known at all; whatever we know of them at present, by experimentation and close observation, is of more recent date. Thus he saw, or appreciated, no effects. What he learned, or believed he had learned, he proclaimed with loud voice. Thus he is the original founder of that nihilism in therapeutics which, especially in the hands of Dietl, and still more of Hammernjk, has contributed more than anything else—against right and reason—to carry the name of the Vienna school of medicine all over the world.

This nihilistic tendency, however, was soon contested and finally overcome. The medical world was soon aware that the principal claims of the Vienna school were not those based upon denying and breaking down, but upon what they built ; and the names of Rokitansky, Skoda, Kolletschka, Helm, and Schuh, the original thinkers of that time, will live forever in the annals of medicine. Their time was one of revolution in both the scientific and the political world, and it was just that time in which Ernst Krackowizer studied and worked and taught in Vienna. In immediate contact with all the illustrious men around him, he participated in and criticised their results. Besides, his travels brought him into close relations with men and ideas of distant countries. Before he travelled, as early as 1841, Roser and Wunderlich, to this day a warm admirer of Krackowizer, had founded their *Journal of Physiological Medicine*, on the principle that pathology was to be considered as nothing but the physiology of the sick. They were followed, in 1842, by Henle and Pfeuffer's *Journal for Rational Medicine*, and, 1844, the Prague *Quarterly for Practical Medicine*. While these magazines flourished, the old journals gave way before the new era, and no one was more anxious and fitted to grasp the results of universal observations and discoveries than Krackowizer. He soon knew that the Vienna school was but the offspring of the French school founded by Laennec, only more sober, established on better observed facts, and more consistently led by principles. He was soon aware, and remained so during his life, that

no single school of medicine, no single doctrine in medicine, can find the stone of the philosophers. There is no such thing as a "school" in exact sciences, like physics, mathematics, or astronomy. The more scientific medicine has become, the more have the claims of systems and schools exhibited their ridiculous weakness. He recognized no exclusive claim of "solidar" or "humoral" pathology, no exclusive rights on the part of physiology or chemistry, or a therapeutical system, or of the new discoveries in the pathology of the blood, or nerves, or cells; nor did he see a universal boon in the increase of diagnostic perfection, or in the results of experimental therapeutics alone. He knew through his whole career that man cannot be subsumed under the definitions of a school; human sufferings cannot be measured and explained by always the same methods, or relieved by the same means. Nor did he ever stoop to the golden calf of nihilism and condemn the use of medicinal agents. Medicine was, to him, entitled to be both an exact science and a social and humane institution. While he studied and recognized man as a link of all creation, he revered medical science as comprehensively connected with all scientific facts, no matter where found and whence collected. Thus, while he was eminently a humane and a practical man, in order to be so he was erudite, in the full meaning of the word. It was this erudition of his which proved one of the principal charms in his medical career. He was conversant with medical science in almost all its branches. Thus every word of his, when he participated in a discussion, was fraught with solid

contents. In his views he was universal. He was just as removed from looking on medicine as a business as on a tissue of conjectures or possibilities, or a merely sentimental vocation. He was as well acquainted with the history of medicine as with the anatomical and physiological points of a diagnosis. For the embryology of medical science was of as much importance to him as that of the human being. He thought just as little of men who did not care for the fathers of medicine as he would have thought of an American who did not know the fathers of his country. For George Washington and Jefferson are of no vaster importance, politically, in the history of the world than Harvey or Bell in that of medicine.

When Dr. Krackowizer had to flee from Vienna and leave Germany, the Vienna school was in the zenith of its reputation. The illustrious names of Rokitansky, Skoda, Helm, Schuh, Jaeger were household words among the medical men all over the globe. His loss was not the only one; a number of young men disappeared with him, some never to be heard of again, some in distant countries. The blow received by the Vienna school in being deprived of the best of its young followers it never outlived. Go to Vienna now and ask for illustrious names. With very few exceptions you have again Rokitansky, and Skoda, and Hebra. The legitimate successor of Schuh would have been Krackowizer. In him there was the grasp of intellect and the breadth of character which make the equal of the greatest, and the admiration of enthusiastic pupils. The other great surgical chair

had to be filled by calling Billroth from a university of Switzerland ; nor could the chair of theory and practice be filled by an Austrian when its occupant died. They had to call Oppolzer from Leipzig, and, after his death, Bamberger from Würzburg. Many of the young men "who did not know of the Moses" of the Vienna school, except from hearsay, who at the present time teach audiences and give private instruction, are of a different character. Their great merit is to teach some young foreigners who go to Vienna for the purpose of brushing up, as the phrase goes, or of returning, after a few months' drilling, as eminent specialists in some "ology." That is in part the spirit of the University of Vienna, that the relic of the Titans of the old Vienna school—neither the spirit of the "Aula," revolutionary in politics and science, nor that of the old guard, a few of whom, however, twenty-seven years after, are still at work amongst them. It is with unfeigned admiration that I here mention the fact that, but lately, old, brave Rokitansky has published a large work on the congenital defects of the septa of the heart, in his old style and spirit. But the glory of old Vienna has passed away with its founders since the wave of political reaction swallowed its best hopes.

The spiteful persecution has emasculated its science, as it has politics. Austria, as it had to import the men of science, had also to import a chancellor of the empire, a Protestant at that, from outside ; and the main political life developed, since the young and talented had to flee for their lives or died in the dungeons, is that of discord and envy. The result

is the same always and everywhere. Thus Prussian politics also are still at the mercy of one man, who does not know how to solve the question of principle involved in the battle between Church and State any better than by arbitrary police measures, because his only opponents are, with few exceptions, those same names which belonged to middle-aged men nearly thirty years ago. Such is the curse of driving into death or exile the flower of the nation. But the stones rejected by the builders have become corner-stones somewhere else. For two hundred years European thrones were always saved, European communities were always deprived, in the interest of the cultivation and culture of a new continent.

Dr. Krackowizer arrived in New York on the 28th of June, 1850. He settled in Williamsburg, where he was married in 1851, and engaged in a rapidly increasing practice until he removed to New York in the autumn of 1857. Here he resided a long time at 49 Amity street, the last twelve years at 16 West 12th street. His new office at 138 West 34th street he arranged completely, without ever being able to move into it. The medical men of Brooklyn soon learned the calibre of the man, and selected him for one of the surgical places in the Brooklyn City Hospital. There he served until his increasing engagements in New York prevented him from attending to his duties as only he knew how to serve. Then he resigned, and never have the Brooklyn surgeons parted with a colleague more unwillingly than at that time. He, however, was none of those who stick to a place or cling to

an honor without repaying for it with more than a full equivalent of work.

On the 1st of February, 1852, he joined Drs. von Roth and Herczka in the publication of the *New York Medical Monthly* (*New Yorker Medicinische Monatsschrift*), which was discontinued after a year, and forms a handsome volume of 388 pages. It was published in the German language, and was meant to circulate among the German physicians of this country and Europe. The cover of each number explains part of the insufficient pecuniary success, which may have been one of the causes of its being discontinued. It has an announcement as follows: "Advertisements of booksellers, apothecaries, dentists, instrument makers, bandagists, and importers of instruments and bandages, and of everything connected with medicine, and agreeing *with the dignity of our journal*, will be admitted." This is a condition which I have not seen printed since. The journal contained original papers, histories of important cases, clinical observations, extracts, reviews, and criticisms, most of them of a superior order. Dr. Krackowizer's principal contributions were (page 21), "History of a Tumor Vasculosus on the Occiput of a Child"; "Improvement of the Exarticulation in the Ankle Joint, with Resection of the Malleoli according to Syme" (page 58); "Staphylorrhaphy" (page 120); "Detmold's Treatment of Pes Valgus" (page 142); "The Modern Views of Syphilis" (page 257); "Contributions to the Diagnosis of Hernia" (page 343). Amongst the clinical reports are those of cases treated in the clinics of Parker, Van Buren, Detmold, and others.

The spirit of the journal may best be judged by the contents of a letter addressed to the German profession of Europe in the first number. It warns against the tendency, at that time prevailing in Europe, of underrating the position and merits of the American profession. While admitting the fact of our inferior opportunities and advantages, and the further fact that most of our colleges were private, and not always first-class, institutions, it is urged that the very competition of the colleges has a tendency to improve their status. The letter closes as follows: "I have no doubt we shall soon have State universities, which will have nothing like European compulsion, but will be free institutions for the most advanced instruction. In this, again, the natural self-development of the American spirit exhibits itself. It begins at the base and culminates above. The political powers in Europe were interested in having ignorant masses and a few learned men; for that reason the universities were older than elementary schools. These latter had great pains in getting started. The universities organized elementary and higher schools on their own system and perverse principles. But in America people thought first of initiating a general popular instruction; they cared not so much for learned individuals as for a cultured people."

What has been quoted explains most of Krackowizer's position in our midst. His appreciation of our institutions and maxims was eminently that of a philosopher who sees clearly and judges wisely. He felt that the distance of the two hemispheres had to be abolished by mutual understanding and

esteem, and thus the journal he aided in starting and editing was published in the German language. Only such a reason could be found valid enough for that course. It is true he was eminently a German, his education and memories were German: no country but Germany could have, at that time, produced the thorough savant, the enthusiastic reformer, the manly spokesman of truth and right. In his family, and with his most intimate friends, he spoke German; in the interest of the preservation of the German language as an element of education in our public schools he was very active; but he was, as he was universal in his knowledge, cosmopolitan in principle and national in politics. From the time he landed here, to his death, he was an American, and the language of the country that which he considered the proper mode of communication with the people and the profession. All of us know how well and concisely and tersely he knew how to use it. And no man has used it to better advantage, not only to communicate his knowledge and thought, but also to connect the apparently incongruous elements of which the profession is composed in a city which is a conglomerate of immigrants in the first, second, or third generations, and which, in many respects, is as much European as it is American. No man was ever more impressed with this fact, and with the other fact, also, that the American, particularly the New York profession, although mostly speaking the English language only, is eminently cosmopolitan. No man more than he appreciated so keenly the readiness with which foreigners, particularly Ger-

mans, were received by the whole and the individuals in the profession. In fact, I remember the time very well, and that time is not quite passed by yet, when the fact alone of being a German, supposed to come imbued with German knowledge and thought, sufficed to place a new-comer in the front ranks, honored for the sake, not of himself perhaps, but of the new ideas emanating from the great thinkers of his distant native land. And nobody complained more than he of the facility with which, sometimes, arrogance and ignorance, when presented in German, commanded temporary respect or forbearance; and nobody enjoyed more than he the frequent visits of young Americans on the other side of the Atlantic, where they learned the hard foreign dialect, studied at the very fountains, and returned in a more cosmopolitan spirit and with ripened judgment of things and men. Thus he was both a German and an American: more of a German thinker than he might have become in Germany, inasmuch as the mental food he enjoyed here was of a different character; more of an American than many Americans, because American empiricism and practical ingenuity was in him rendered more humane and sacred by his German mode of reasoning and reducing to principles. In this mixture of the two great qualities of the two nations he saw the glory of American future. Philosopher as he was, he saw the two nationalities happily blended into one, their mode of feeling and thinking modified, fortified in the interest of human progress. Nor was he, with his statesmanlike views applied to small things and great alike,

shaken in his friendly and optimistic hopes for the development of both the profession and the politics of America. What was it to him, who never sought an honor for the honor's sake, that the parading with names of a college for young gentlemen instead of a school for boys, or emporium for a store, a lyceum for a society, the strutting with a professorial title, the parading of endless titles over worthless compilations, was unrepblican in principle as it was ridiculous in practice? What to him that our custom here was less republican than those of learned societies in monarchical Europe, where men speak of and to each other as Mr. Virchow, and Mr. Rokitansky, and Mr. Broca? In all these exaggerations he saw but the outgrowth of an inexperienced ambition which aims high, and an effervescence of activity which has not settled down in quiet thinking and hard working. Nor, as he would always compare parts with the whole, did he believe that in the course of development our republican principles and institutions would suffer, although men would revel in "Captain" and "General," in "Honorable" and "Excellency," in European court decorations, or in intimacies with doubtful counts or emperors.

Such was the man who moved to New York in 1857—eighteen years ago. Since that time he has been prominently before the profession. He belonged to many societies, was an officeholder in many—president in the Pathological. The Medical Society of the County of New York, the Academy of Medicine, the Pathological Society, the Medical Library and Journal Association, the New York

Physicians' Mutual Aid Association, the New York Society for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of Medical Men, the New York Public Health Association, the American Medical Association, counted him on their lists of members until his death. For none did he work more than for the Pathological Society and this Academy. Year after year, in former times, he was a regular visitor and contributor in the former, and in the latter he participated in the discussions frequently. It was he who opened the discussion on pyæmia many years ago ; it was he, again, who contributed, by his sagacity and urbanity, much to the success of the Committee of Ethics through many years, and was one of the most active members of the Committee on Ways and Means. This hall owes part of its existence to his efforts, his counsel, his pecuniary contribution. He will long be missed wherever he worked ; for he always worked well and wisely and successfully.

Besides the work in the societies, much, or rather more, was given to public institutions. He was one of the surgeons of the German Dispensary, and later the German Hospital, of the Mount Sinai Hospital, the New York Hospital, and a short time, in 1874 and 1875, in Bellevue. Here he resigned very soon. The manner in which he did resign, and the reason why, are fresh in our memories, and there is not a man here, nor outside, whose respect for the upright and courageous man of principles has not been increased since. He was the ideal "knight, without fear and without reproach." The confidence reposed in him was never shaken.

The best men considered it both an honor and a pleasure to be connected with him, and the Government sought his services repeatedly. He served during the war as Special Inspector of Hospitals, and was twice at the seat of war when eminent surgical aid was needed and solicited.

All of this is well known. There is one point in his New York history, however, which I ought to allude to. At the same time that Dr. Krackowizer emigrated to America a number of German physicians left their country. Some were young ; some in advanced years ; some were unknown ; some had left places of distinction and honor ; some had been driven away for their participation in the revolutions ; some followed, almost unconsciously, the new migration of peoples which began at that time. Many of them remained in New York. It would not be difficult to mention quite a number of distinguished men amongst them, some of them now dead, a good many in our midst. Education and language soon joined them, or part of them. The German Dispensary was opened by them in 1858 in Canal street. It was afterward in Third street, and is at the present time in St. Mark's place. It proved a successful institution from the start, both for the suffering public and the attending physicians and surgeons. The leading spirit of the institution and the scientific reunions was Dr. Krackowizer. Both his superior character and intellect placed him, not in the first rank, but at the head of all those on whom he, in his modesty, looked as his equals. There is none, there was none, who ever denied or grudged him that posi-

tion. As in private practice, so in dispensary practice, he was the counsellor of all. In the scientific circles he was the principal thinker and the best speaker. When the German Hospital was contemplated, the physicians of the Dispensary were offered its medical administration. At that time, again, and when it was opened in 1869, he was the soul, the brain, the hand of all. He worked, he spoke, he begged for it, he administered. Never has a public institution of that kind owed more to the exertions of one man. For what he has done the public admired him. His colleagues adored him. His presence warmed and stimulated them. He was their pride and joy. They felt safe when he co-operated with them or worked for them, and a certain sense of ease and comfort was felt by the best of them as they were aware that they had in him a friend, a spokesman, a representative. In fact, the feeling gained ground that our position in the American profession was secured. For Krackowizer was one of us.

As he was in public, so in private. He had time for everything, for everybody. A young man wanted his assistance in a tenement house—he had it. A colleague required his presence, paid, or more frequently unpaid, at an operation—he was there. He was wanted for an extemporized meeting—he was first in attendance. Never man crowded more work into twenty-four hours. In consultations he was absolutely punctual, generous, cautious. Nobody knew how to sustain a young practitioner better while not neglecting his duties to the patient. Nobody has, by word and deed, done more

to improve the relations of physician and public, and to increase the respect of the public for the profession. With nobody would young and old consult in preference to him. The larger part of surgical consultations amongst the Germans, and much of the natives, was his, and the best pathologists among his older friends have willingly admitted that they, in medical cases also, never had a clearer insight, more unbiassed judgment, and often new ideas. There may be more brilliant operators amongst his surgical colleagues than he was, but not a more brilliant, more solid, more universal, more modest, more useful man.

He has published but very little. The "nonum prematur in annum" has lasted a little too long. An immense learning and thinking has been buried in that quiet grave in Sing Sing. An instinctive modesty, and a positive horror of a great part of our daily medical food, may have been, besides his constant overwork, the principal reason why he always refused to write. He had a great respect for the medical profession, and felt, perhaps, averse to competing with the numerous original articles concocted from some old text books, and with the text books compiled by young men with an immense industry extending over three months, more or less, at the order of an enterprising publisher, from five previous text books, and spiced with an immense "experience in private and consultation practice" extending over several years since graduation. He did not bid for reputation, nor for practice, least of all a hot-house reputation; reputation followed him and practice sought him.

Amongst his cases presented to the Pathological Society I mention a few :

Double Morbus Coxarius. Extensive ulceration of bone without crepitus, or marked general or local symptoms. Being the history of a specimen presented to the New York Pathological Society, November 27th, 1861 (*Medical Record*, May 31st, 1862, page 301). The following sentences will be deemed worthy of remembering : “ There may be extensive ulceration of bone in the joint, and yet no crepitus.” “ There may be very great distortion in the joint, and yet the local, as well as the general, symptoms may be very mild.”

A case of complete occlusion of the gut, presented to the New York Pathological Society on April 23d, 1862 (*Medical Record*, June 7th, 1862). It is the most remarkable case on record of occlusion in the small intestine at the upper end of ileum. The child lived from March 16th to April 21st—five weeks. It passed urine normally ; was fed on milk and fennel tea, the other babe (twin) being nursed. It retained food, grew restless on every second day after vomiting, and vomited on every fourth day only. There was no peritonitis, the small intestines were dilated so as to fill the abdominal cavity. The intestines below were very small. The glands belonging to the latter portion were but little developed. Between the dilated upper portion of the intestinal tract and the lower contracted part was a short filament of connective tissue.

Case of fibro-cystic tumor of the uterus, with an elaborate history. Same date and place.

Cirroid aneurism of temporal and post-auricular arteries in a living subject. Pathological Society, September 11th, 1861 (*Medical Record*, October 5th, 1861).

Necrosis of head of femur, with the following remark: "A good deal of harm can be done by operating too early, and an equal amount by postponement. The proper time to choose for such a proceeding is when the sequestrum is merely embedded in the soft granulations which sprout out of the involucrum." Pathological Society, September 25th, 1861 (*Medical Record*, October 12th, 1861).

Tumor of neck composed of an aggregation of sebaceous follicles. Same place and date.

Cystic hygroma from the right axilla of a girl of three years. Pathological Society, October 23d, 1861 (*Medical Record*, January 22d, 1862).

Osteo-sarcoma of superior maxilla. Same place and date.

Mammary tumors (Paget) in a woman of twenty-six years, of three years' standing.

Aneurism of subclavian artery, with exact observations of the pupils during and after the attacks of asphyxia, and remarks upon the irritation and compression of sympathetic nerve of both sides, in its relation to the dilatation of the pupils. Pathological Society, March 12th, 1862 (*Medical Record*, April 19th, 1862).

Two neuromata at the end of an amputated forearm. The principal nerves of the extremity were found to terminate in them.

Resection of shoulder joint, with caries of head down to anatomical and surgical neck.

Resection of hip joint, head and acetabulum. Pathological Society, March 28th, 1866 (*Medical Record*, 1866, page 436).

Uterus extirpated, being mistaken for ovarian tumor. Pathological Society, June 27th, 1867 (*Medical Record*, August 15th, 1867), which is a case of gastro-hysterotomy, deplored as a fearful mistake by Krackowizer, while another surgeon has lately recommended a similar operation for curative purposes.

Before the Surgical Section of this Academy of Medicine—meeting of April 25th, 1862 (*Medical Record*, June 28th, 1862)—Dr. Krackowizer made extensive remarks, part of which follow briefly; *Tracheotomy* has been performed two hundred and fifty times in New York and Brooklyn, oftener than in Great Britain and Ireland, and oftener than in Germany. Dr. W. von Roth has operated forty-eight times, being outranked in the number of his operations by only three or four Paris surgeons. Dr. Krackowizer reported thirty-one cases of his own and ten in which he had assisted. He warned against giving too positive promises in regard to permanent or even temporary relief, for croup symptoms and suffocation frequently return when the disease progresses downward. Anæsthesia is a great aid in the operation, and not more dangerous than in other operations. Dr. Voss was of the same opinion. Dr. von Roth used chloroform in tracheotomy the first time on June 14th, 1854. Dr. Snow only has preceded him. Spasm is not a complication of the croup dyspnœa, for this symptom is not improved by anæsthesia. In cases where anæsthesia is estab-

lished by carbonic acid poisoning, no anæsthetic is required. These cases are very rare. Where no anæsthetic is used there is more struggling and more dyspnœa.

In the discussion in the Medical Society of the County of New York, April 3d, 1871, upon abscesses of the processus vermiformis, Dr. Krackowizer related the case of a young man who had repeated abscesses until a seed of a pear or apple was discharged; also the case of a boy who had a cæcovesical fistula, and discharged an *ascaris lumbricoides* through the urethra; finally, that of an idiotic boy, of seven years, who had always been on milk diet. Once in his life he was given some strawberries; some time after he died of perforation of the vermiform process. Two concretions were found, each of which contained a strawberry seed. In connection with this subject he then made the following statement, which I repeat in full, because I think it of very great importance, and positively correct:

“A point concerning the etiology of the affection has often occurred to me. Seeking the first of the series of pathological changes that led finally to the fatal result, we frequently find in the post-mortem examination of these cases not only the recent exudations which had walled up the matter until finally it broke through them into the peritoneal cavity; not only the ulceration and perforation of the appendix, but, besides these, adhesions apparently much older, binding down the appendix to the surrounding parts. My impression is that these first adhesions of the appendix, by their traction,

render patulous its opening into the cæcum, and thus expose it to intrusion of seeds or other foreign bodies, about which form the fæcal concretions which lead to ulceration. This point seems to me worthy of further investigation, to ascertain whether or not it is customary to find such adhesions of older date than the ulcerative process."

On May 1st he wound up with the subject by presenting a specimen, accompanied with one of his well-prepared and brilliant histories.

In the *Medical Record* of June 1st, 1867, he published "an interesting case of vesico-intestinal fistula, with discharge of *ascaris lumbricoides* per urethram." (Remarks made before the New York Pathological Society, March 13th, 1867.) The case was complicated with Bright's disease, ulceration of the bladder, and pyæmia. The closing remarks are as follows: "As objects of surgical interference, cases of intestino-vesical fistula must be divided into two distinct groups. The first group, comprising cases in which the fistula exists between the bladder and the rectum, and can be seen and reached, permit of surgical treatment. Of the second class, where the fistula exists between the bladder and any section of the intestines, down to that part of the rectum which already receives a peritoneal investment, it must be said that it is beyond the reach of art."

In the Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of New York for 1873, page 13, there is a report on the discussion upon Dr. Gouley's paper on the median operation for stone. Dr. Krackowizer contributed a masterly extemporaneous report of two cases.

In next year's Transactions, 1874, page 168, there is a paper of his on "Three Cases of Perineal Lithotripsy." Here is the clear and concise statement of the man who never said a word too much : "It differs from, and is superior to, median lithotomy, so-called, mainly for two reasons : First, in that it dilates the wound track, the prostatic portion, and the neck of the bladder in a more gentle and gradual manner than it is possible to do with the fingers ; and second, that it renounces beforehand the attempt at extracting a stone beyond the diameter of three-quarters of an inch, considering that the track established by median lithotomy cannot be stretched safely beyond the diameter of one inch without exposing the patient to the immediate and subsequent dangers of tearing and contusing the parts which constitute the way for extracting the stone."

This must suffice. But I should not do justice to the man if I did not emphasize the fact that he was more than a medical man only. Whatever the attribute of man, that he was ; at the same time *manly* and *humane*. His life has been spent in learning and doing the right. Man was to him not only an interesting subject in the anatomical theatre or on the operating table, but in individual and political and social life. Never did he cease to take an active interest in social questions and in politics. In him politics assumed again the purity which even we know how to appreciate and admire in the fathers of this country of ours. He did not drift into politics ; he was a born politician, for he lived, soul and heart, with the people, its develop-

ment, growth, efforts, its happiness and unhappiness. Nourished upon the classics, he was a republican of old. No oppression or injustice found grace before his eyes. Thus he was a freesoiler, thus he was an abolitionist; no matter whether the chains to be broken were those of color, or religion, or sex. Whatever were his convictions, he transformed them into deeds. Force and action were with him identical. He supported Fremont, supported Lincoln, supported energetically the war for the Union. But never was he one-sided, or his eyes blinded by passion. When the waves of political fury and rancor dashed as far as into this Academy of Medicine, he was one of a very few who strenuously resisted the expulsion, for alleged rebel sympathies, of a Southern-born member whose name has since become a household word in two hemispheres. And when the war terminated he was one of the far-seeing politicians of the better class who, while severely reprimanding the offensive course taken by Andrew Johnson, were in favor of dealing with the conquered South on an unmilitary basis. He was one of those who, during the first administration of Grant, hoped for the speedy disorganization of the old political parties, either of them having outlived the conditions of their existence, and for new frames in which the political development of the country could find fair play. Thus, as he had supported Grant against rebellion, he supported liberalism against Grant. He was one of the first who cut loose from the Republican party to become what is nowadays called the independent voter. He felt assured that the American people

would not be guided and gagged much longer by party ties, holding that the party is only the means of executing the desires and wants of the community, and not an aim, an entity in itself. Thus he was a supporter of Greeley in the last presidential election rather than Grant, and an independent voter, as he was an independent thinker and man to the very last.

On the field of politics, as on others, places and honors sought him. In the majority of campaigns he was at the head of large organizations; in the Committee of Seventy and the Council of Political Reform he was an esteemed member. To whatever he directed his attention, the attention of the public was directed to him. Whenever his services were required he gave them, no matter whether in rank or file. Let me quote here what Plutarch says of one of the most beautiful specimens of Hellenic spirit and valor—Aristides: “Admirable was the equanimity of the man in all changes of his public relations. He never prided himself on account of honors; he remained quiet and self-possessed on provocations and insults. He always deemed himself under obligations to his country, and declared to owe it the same zeal, and to work for it without either pecuniary advantage, or honor, or appreciation.”

I have mentioned the name of the good and great ancient with whom all my lifetime I have compared him, Aristides. If there was a man amongst us blessed with true Hellenic spirit, it was Krackowizer. Of his public character I have spoken. It was, however, only a repetition of his private char-

acter. No fear ever shook him, no bribe ever tempted him. He was incorruptible even by friendship, or love, or desire. The applause of the masses never impressed him ; his own conscience was his guide and his adviser. At the same time he was modest almost to excess. He never spoke of what he had done. What he could do in a good cause, he did. He would often ask for advice where he did not require it. What he did, he did fully and earnestly. One of his last sentences was, "Never do what does not fully correspond with its purpose."* There was but one man in regard to whom he judged sternly, viz., himself. In regard to others he was always mild, excusing and explaining doubtful traits of character or actions. Only once in my life have I heard him denounce a man in bitter words, and in that case he proved but too right at last. He was great enough to have enemies, but he enjoyed the respect of friends and enemies equally. His character was undoubted, his universality acknowledged, his morals, in its broadest sense, unexceptional. Humanity was his leading star. On its altar he has deposited a fortune, health, and finally life. He was great as a physician, but his principal greatness he has obtained as a man in whom many powers were happily blended in mild harmony. Much had been given to him, much was demanded of him, and he gave it all. He will have a monument. That monument will be the ever-increasing knowledge of the vacancy he left in our midst.

*"Man soll nichts thun was seinem Zwecke nicht ganz entspricht."

DIE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITÄT.

VORTRAG, GEHALTEN VOR DEM DEUTSCHEN
GESELLIG-WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN VEREINE VON NEW
YORK, AM 15. DECEMBER 1880.

Am 24. December 1873 starb in Baltimore ein Mann, welcher es erreicht hat, sich ein Denkmal zu setzen, dessen Schriftzüge in Ewigkeit nicht gelöscht werden. Die alte Frage, ob der Fortschritt der Menschheit ein unaufhaltsamer sei, ob er unbeschadet der zufällig Lebenden, oder persönlicher Einflüsse und Eingriffe, sich vollziehe, oder ob er bedingt sei durch die Leistungen Einzelner, und ohne dieselben sich nicht habe vollziehen können, ist wohl durch seine Existenz und seine Thätigkeit nicht ganz beantwortet, aber das persönliche Element in der Geschichtsauffassung hat ganz gewiss an ihm einen bedeutenden Halt gewonnen. Der Eine Mann und des Einen Mannes Können, und Fühlen, und Wollen haben für die geistige und intellektuelle Entwicklung dieses Landes eine solche Bedeutung gewonnen, dass es wohl der Mühe lohnt, die Geschichte der Johns Hopkins Universität mit derjenigen des Johns Hopkins zu beginnen.

Er ist am 19. Mai 1795 in Anne Arundel County, Md., nahe Annapolis, geboren. Sein Grossvater desselben Namens war einer der wenigen—alle, wie er, zu den Quäkern gehörenden—Männer, welche schon lange vor der Revolution die Sklave-

rei für unwürdig und unmenschlich erklärten, und —nach Quäkermanier—die logische Consequenz ihrer Ueberzeugung praktisch verwirklichten. Er emancipirte seine hundert Sklaven, und bebaute seine Ländereien, so gut es ging, mit freier Arbeit. Sein Sohn Samuel, der Vater von Johns, hatte seine Geschwister auszukaufen, und seine Mittel dadurch bedeutend zu beschränken. Dessen Frau Hannah soll die Seele des Hauswesens gewesen sein, und in der Wirthschaft des Gutes, ja sogar in den Jahresversammlungen der Gemeinde ein einflussreiches Wort mitgeredet haben. Sie wird als eine Frau von grosser Charakterstärke und überlegener Intelligenz geschildert.

Ihr Sohn Johns war das älteste von ihren elf Kindern. Ein grosser Theil der Farmarbeit wurde durch ihn verrichtet oder geleitet. Dabei war er der Lehrer der jüngeren Kinder. Frühzeitig entwickelte er eine grosse Lernbegierde, und verschlang alles Gedruckte, das im County zu Fuss oder zu Pferde erreichbar war. Als er mit siebenzehn Jahren die Farm verliess, hatte er die sämtlichen Bücher der Umgegend—vielleicht keine zu grosse Anzahl in der sklavenhaltenden Nachbarschaft—gelesen. Diesem Leseeifer blieb er bis an sein Lebensende treu. Bis zu seinem Tode hatte er eine Bibliothek von zweitausend Bänden, meist geschichtlichen und biographischen, zum Theil auch poetischen Inhalts, gesammelt und studirt. Shakespeare soll sein Lieblingsdichter geblieben sein.

Im Jahre 1812 zog er nach Baltimore, wo er bis zu seinem Lebensende verblieb. Jahrelang war er Gehülfe in einem Wholesale Grocery-Geschäft, bis

er sich im Jahre 1819 selbstständig etablirte. Damals besass er die Kenntniss seines Geschäftes, stricte Sparsamkeit, die ganze Zähigkeit und Umsicht seiner Secte, und vier hundert Dollars. In seinem Geschäfte gab es eine grosse Anzahl leerer Kisten und Fässer, und mancherlei Proben; aber auch nur Proben, die, oder nach denen, er verkaufte, und die er dann eiligst ersetzte. Fleiss und Glück blieben ihm von dort an immer treu. Als er starb, besass er ein hundert und fünfzig Waarenhäuser, von denen niemals eines gebrannt hatte.

Sein grosses Vermögen erwarb er in seinem Geschäfte, in seinem Notenhandel, und in späteren Jahren aus dem natürlichen Ertrag dessen, was er vorher gesammelt hatte. Was oft Glück zu sein schien, war bestimmt das Resultat seiner Consequenz und Einsicht. So z. B. war er im Jahre 1847 einer der Directoren der Baltimore und Ohio Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft, welche damals dem Bankerott nahe stand, weil der Bau von Seitenbahnen, welche für das Gedeihen der Hauptbahn unumgänglich nöthig waren, die sämmtlichen Mittel erschöpft hatte und keine neuen aufzutreiben waren. Er setzte seinen ganzen Privatcredit ein, die Gesellschaft kam über ihre Schwierigkeiten hinweg, und noch bei seinem Tode besass Johns Hopkins zwei Millionen in Actien.

Natürlich beschränkte er seine Geldoperationen in keiner Weise. Grundeigenthum kaufte er, wo er Gelegenheit hatte, und verbesserte und baute sofort. Viele der besten Häuser in Baltimore sind von ihm errichtet, und manche Stadttheile durch seine Initiative gehoben.

Das ist ungefähr Alles, was sich über sein äusseres Leben sagen lässt. Die einzige Biographie, welche ich von ihm kenne, ist im *Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine* vom August 1879 erschienen, und hat Caroline H. Dall zur Verfasserin. Sie deutet an, dass der unverbesserliche Hagestolz im Punkte einer gewissen Moralität Einiges zu wünschen übrig gelassen habe. Aber Thatsache ist, dass in seinem Testamente nur sechszehn Neffen und Nichten als Erben fungiren. Jeder und jede von ihnen bekam 50,000 Dollars. Er fügte hinzu: "Was darüber ist, das ist vom Uebel" ("Whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil").

Was man einen wohlthätigen Mann zu nennen pflegt, war er nicht. Vielleicht versagte er sich blos den zeitweiligen Genuss augenblicklichen Lebens im Interesse grösserer Zwecke. Er gab keine Almosen. Er hat öfter verweigert, als gewährt. Seine Weigerung war manchmal in die Worte gekleidet: "Mein Geld hat seinen Herrn. Mein Geld ist nicht für Sie. Ich brauche es für meine Zwecke. Uebrigens habe ich es nicht gemacht." Aber wo er gab, hatte er einen bestimmten Zweck, und ohne einen solchen gab er nicht. Für den Bau eines Versammlungshauses seiner Secte hatte der vielfache Millionär nur dreitausend Dollars übrig. Aber einem Geschäftshause, das nicht vorwärts kommen konnte, weil er unerbittlich seine Miethen pünktlich eintrieb, gab er aus freien Stücken zehntausend Dollars zum leichteren Geschäftsbetriebe. Andere Darlehen, zu ähnlichem Zweck gemacht, weigerte er sich wiederzunehmen, mit den Worten: "Leiht es gerade so weiter." "Sein Wort war so

schwer wie Blei," sagte ein Neger von ihm. Ein Versprechen vergass er nie. Und wo er für sich grossen Gewinn in Aussicht fand, gab er gern Anderen dieselbe Gelegenheit. In vielen Comptoirs Baltimore's findet sich sein Bild.

Auf sein stetiges Glück lernte er schliesslich bauen. Seine Freunde wussten, wozu er sein Geld aufspeicherte, und wurden gegen sein Lebensende besorgt, er könne ohne hinreichende Vorbereitungen sterben. Herr King fragte ihn eines Tages: "Warum machen Sie Ihr Testament nicht? Machen Sie voran." Und seine kühle Antwort war—und nicht sehr lange vor seinem Tode—"Nur nicht ängstlich. Ich bin noch nicht parat."

Schliesslich wurde er doch "parat," nachdem er schon am 24 August 1867—als er zweiundsiebzig Jahre alt war—das "Johns Hopkins Hospital" und die "Johns Hopkins University" von der Staats-Legislatur hatte incorporiren lassen.

Der Vorstand der beiden Anstalten war zum Theil derselbe. So kommt es, dass die beiden so häufig mit einander genannt werden. Sie gehören auch insofern zu einander, als nach der Absicht des Johns Hopkins das Hospital ein wesentlicher Factor in der Arbeit der medicinischen Facultät der Universität sein soll. Die Vorbereitungen zu dem Hospital nahmen daher seine Aufmerksamkeit frühzeitig in Anspruch. Fünf namhafte Aerzte wurden mit der Ausarbeitung von Plänen beauftragt. Von diesen wurde kein einziger schliesslich ganz angenommen, aber einer der Herren, Dr. John S. Billings, als Gesundheitsbeamter und Sachverständiger beibehalten. Diese Pläne und der definitiv angenom-

mene haben eine grosse Verbreitung gewonnen. In jeder grossen Bibliothek Europa's, und in manchem grossen Heilinstitut, werden sie als muster-gültig betrachtet. Hopkins' ursprünglicher Plan umfasste nicht blos ein Hospital, sondern auch eine Schule für Wärterinnen. Der Eifer, mit welchem, manchen Hindernissen zum Trotz, in New York die bekannte Bellevue Hospital Training School for Nurses verwirklicht wurde, ist angefacht, unterstützt und erfolgreich gemacht worden durch die Anregungen des alten Baltimorer Kaufmanns. Diese erste Forderung ist in seinem ersten Briefe an den Vorstand enthalten. Daneben bestand er auf Gleichberechtigung der Farbigen, und auf der Anlage eines Asyls neben dem Hospital. Am 10. März 1873 erliess er schliesslich eine Instruction an seinen Verwaltungsrath, welchem er zu gleicher Zeit dreizehn Acres, von Wolfe's Monument, Broadway und Jefferson street eingeschlossen, zum Bau des Hospitals anwies. Anbei folgten hunderttausend Dollars zum Beginn der Arbeiten. Die Losung war aber von Beginn an: "Eile mit Weile. Verbraucht kein Kapital. Arbeitet mit den Zinsen. Thut nichts für die Augenweide. Keine kostspieligen Gebäude für die Universität."

Vorerst sollte der gewaltige Raum bis zum höchsten natürlichen Punkte geebnet werden. Nach vollständigem Drainiren sollte dann der Bau langsam beginnen. Ohne den Rath und die Hülfe von amerikanischen und fremden Experten durfte nicht vorgegangen werden. Das Hospital sollte für Arme und Kranke jeden Alters, Geschlechts, und jeder Race bestimmt sein, und ausserdem ein Asyl

für vierhundert farbige Waisen enthalten. Im Lande sollte an eine Convalescenten-Abtheilung, und in der ersten Anlage an Räumlichkeiten für Fremde und Zahlende gedacht werden. Das Hospital sollte einen Theil der Universität bilden. Im Uebrigen aber sollte der Verwaltungsrath vollständig freie Hand haben. Glücklicherweise sind dessen Mitglieder so consequent gewesen, wie der Gründer einsichtig war. Die acht Millionen und die deihundertunddreissig Acres von den Thoren Baltimore's, mit welchen begonnen wurde, sind noch unverletzt, und schon seit Jahren arbeitet die werdende und sich entwickelnde Universität rüstig voran, und sind fast ein Dutzend gewaltige Hospitalgebäude fertig gestellt.

In dem vierten Jahresbericht der Johns Hopkins Universität, im Jahre 1879 veröffentlicht, erzählt der Präsident der Anstalt, dass einige Zeit nach dem Tode des Gründers der Verwaltungsrath zusammentrat. Die erste Sitzung fand am 6. Februar 1874 statt. Man beschloss Zusammenkünfte und Correspondenzen mit Präsidenten und Professoren von amerikanischen höheren Schulen, Besuche bei den namhaftesten derselben, und sandte einen Repräsentanten nach Europa, um die gelehrten Schulen der alten Welt zu studiren. Am 22. Februar 1876, also nach zwei Jahren, wurden die Resultate der bisherigen Studien und Erfahrungen kundgegeben, im Laufe des Sommers und Herbstes ein Lehrkörper berufen, und der Unterricht am 3. October 1876 begonnen.

In ihren Plänen gingen die Mitglieder des Verwaltungsrathes von der Ansicht aus, dass es nicht der Mühe lohne, zu den vielen amerikanischen Col-

leges ein neues hinzuzufügen, sondern dass man den Versuch machen müsse, Unterricht und Erziehung zu heben, und auf diese Weise nicht bloß der beschränkten Oertlichkeit Baltimore's, sondern den jetzigen und zukünftigen Bedürfnissen des gesamten Landes Rechnung zu tragen. Um diesen Zweck zu erreichen, waren allerdings mancherlei Mittel vorhanden. Der Fonds war gross und warf ein gutes Einkommen ab. Religiöse und confessionelle Fesseln waren nicht vorhanden. Wäre auch Washington, das politische Centrum der Nation, mit seinen Sammlungen im Smithson'schen Institut, einem berühmten anatomischen Museum, mit der besten medicinischen Journal-Bibliothek der ganzen Welt, vielleicht ein passenderer Ort für die zu gründende Universität gewesen, so war doch Baltimore, in der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft, der nächstbeste. Auch hatte die Stadt Institute, mit denen die neue Anstalt Fühlung zu behalten, und zusammen zu arbeiten im Stande war. Da war schon das Peabody Institut, mit seiner 1¼ Million, einer grossen und sich mehrenden Bibliothek, seinen Vorlesungscursen, seinem Kunstmuseum, und seiner Musikanstalt; das in Bau begriffene grosse Hospital; das Maryland Institut, eine technische Schule; die Maryland Academy of Sciences mit dem begonnenen naturgeschichtlichen Museum; die Schulen für Rechtswissenschaft, Medicin, Zahnheilkunde und Pharmacie; die Bibliotheken für Geschichte, Rechtswissenschaft, Handelswissenschaft, und Medicin; und eine grosse Anzahl von Unterrichtsanstalten, von den Elementarschulen bis zur Staats-Normalschule.

Diese verschiedenen Anstalten sollten als Hülfen benutzt werden. So viel war klar. Aber viel wichtiger war die Bestimmung darüber, welches die Stellung der neuen Anstalt werden sollte. Als Vorbilder waren amerikanische, englische, französische und deutsche Lehranstalten vorhanden. Die amerikanischen aber, einerlei ob sie den Namen trugen oder nicht, waren augenscheinlich höhere Schulen, und nicht Universitäten. Der Unterricht in den höheren Schulen—Colleges—ist zum Theil elementar, formell, auf eine gewisse Anzahl Disciplinen beschränkt. Er bildet die nothwendige Vorstufe zu der Universitätsbildung. Das College unterrichtet, es bildet noch nicht. Es ertheilt eine Summe von Kenntnissen, ohne welche geistige Cultur das Höchste nicht erreicht, aber nicht diese Cultur selbst. Die Universität aber, welche den Unterricht auf dem College, dem Lyceum, dem Gymnasium voraussetzt, hat die bestmögliche Unterweisung in der Literatur und sämtlichen Wissenschaften, auch in den gelehrten Fachstudien zu gewähren. Sie soll ferner Bibliotheken, Apparate, Kunstwerke und naturhistorische Specimina in grossem Massstabe sammeln. Sie soll auch Anleitung und Ermunterung zu selbstständigen wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten geben, und schliesslich Diplome ertheilen.

Im Zusammenhange damit erlauben Sie mir einige weitere Bemerkungen.

Die höheren Schulen in den Vereinigten Staaten, beiläufig dreihundert an der Zahl, entsprechen dem, was man in Europa, und speciell in Deutschland, unter einer Universität versteht, fast nie-

mals. Es giebt nur wenige, wie z. B. Yale und Harvard, oder die Staats-Universität von Michigan in Ann Arbor, oder einige geplante Anstalten im fernen Westen, welche verschiedene wirkliche Facultäten im deutschen Sinne umfassen. Sogar die Namen College und University werden meist ohne Unterschied gebraucht. Recht häufig wird der letztere Namen vorgezogen, wie man auch gern von einer Academy of Medicine in einem Landstädtchen, einer Academy of Swimming, oder einer Academy of Dancing redet. Es giebt in unserem Lande Colleges, welche ein bestimmtes Quantum von Kenntnissen bei der Zulassung verlangen, und einem vorgeschriebenen Studienplan für sämtliche Schüler folgen. Dieser Art ist Yale. Es giebt auch solche, wie die Universität von Virginien, welche keines von beiden thun, und in welchen in gesonderten Schulen oder Klassen der Student treiben kann was er will, nachdem er mit Vorkenntnissen, oder ohne dieselben, sich zum Besuch gemeldet hat. Einige der Colleges haben Vorschulen, in denen elementare, oder andere vorbereitende Fächer gelehrt werden. Andere haben Course—sogenannte Post-Graduate Courses—in welchen Lehrfächer, welche über die Durchschnittserfordernisse für ein Diplom hinausgehen, getrieben werden. Zu den letzteren gehören Yale und Harvard. Andere, wie Cornell University, haben Parallelcourse, in denen der Aufgenommene bestimmte Disciplinen, gewöhnlich mit täglichen Examinationen nach Schülerart, erlernen kann. In den besten und fortgeschrittensten dieser Anstalten, in denen der Cursus, wie z. B. in Yale und

Harvard, gewöhnlich vier Jahre dauert, wechseln Vorlesungen, Examinationen, und schriftliche Arbeiten mit einander ab, wie in einem deutschen Gymnasium. Auch die Fächer, welche in diesen Anstalten gelehrt werden, sind im Ganzen diejenigen, welche auf deutschen Gymnasien getrieben werden. Der Umstand, dass ihre Zahl gewöhnlich grösser ist, dass er auch Rhetorik, Astronomie, natürliche Theologie und die Beweise für das Christenthum, Anatomie und Physiologie, Moralphilosophie und Anderes umfasst, scheint der Gründlichkeit und dem Behalten des vielfältigen Erlernten keinen Vorschub zu leisten. Wenigstens ist mir noch kein ehemaliger Gymnasial-Abiturient vorgekommen, welcher, wie zwei Diplomirte von Yale, das triviale "*supra posse nemo cogitur*" nicht hätte übersetzen können. Der Fehler liegt ganz gewiss darin, dass die Vorbildung der Schüler und die Kürze ihrer Schulzeit in keinem Verhältnisse stehen zu dem Ehrgeiz, wenn nicht der Schüler, so doch der Lehrer oder Verwaltungsräthe. Multa, besonders wenn erzwungen, bedingen kein multum; und Vielfarbigkeit giebt nicht nothwendigerweise Harmonie. Daher haben gar manche College-Präsidenten, wie z. B. Eliot von Harvard, sich warm für das Aufhören des Zwanges, und für optionelle Studien ausgesprochen.

Nur wenige der amerikanischen höheren Schulen haben zu ihrem College-Cursus eine Zugabe von einer oder mehreren Facultäten. Vier Facultäten, wie in Harvard, oder Ann Arbor, sind sehr selten. Manche haben eine nominelle Verbindung mit

Fachschulen, so z. B. führt das College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York den Beinamen Medical Department of Columbia College. Auch die University of New York hat Fachschulen, welche in so gut wie gar keiner Verbindung mit einander stehen. Und wo der Verband so locker ist, hört die Beaufsichtigung vollkommen auf, und weder Eintritt noch Austritt sind genügend controllirt.

Der Charakter einer europäischen Universität ist bekanntlich ein ganz anderer. Fast alle sind nach deutschem Muster geplant, oder umgemodelt. Nur England hat sein eigenthümliches System von Colleges beibehalten, wie es sich aus den Klosterschulen herausgebildet hat, und auch Frankreich steht nicht auf dem Niveau des übrigen Europa. Wer übrigens von Ihnen in kürzester Frist und auf engstem Raume das Wissenswürdigste über diese Gegenstände—Allgemeines und Specielles—zusammengestellt finden will, den verweise ich gern auf die zahlreichen und bündigen Artikel in Kiddle und Schem's *Cyclopædia of Education*. So viel steht nun für eine wirkliche Universität unter allen Umständen fest, dass erstens eine Vorbildung für die Aufnahme unter regelmässige Studenten verlangt wird, welche dem gleichkommt, was zur Erlangung des Zeugnisses der Reife vom deutschen Gymnasial-Abiturienten oder eines Diploms von einem Graduirten eines guten amerikanischen College gefordert zu werden pflegt, und dass zweitens neben allgemeinen philosophischen, literarischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Fächern eigentliche gelehrte Fachstudien in vier Facultäten getrieben werden.

Und zwar getrieben mit vollständiger Lehrfreiheit und Lernfreiheit. Die letztere umfasst für den Studirenden die Verfügung darüber, wo, was, und in welcher Reihenfolge er hören und lernen will. Diese Freiheit ist für die volle Entwicklung des gut angelegten, moralisch und geistig sich selbst bestimmenden jungen Menschen absolut nöthig. Dass Diejenigen, auf welche dieses Prädicat nicht passt, bei dem Fehlen der organisirten straffen Disciplin im kärglich getriebenen Brotstudium, oder im Bummel, verkümmern oder untergehen, ist allerdings wahr. Aber die besten Eigenschaften und die besten Menschen gedeihen voll nur in unbeschränkter Freiheit, und schwankende Charaktere und schlechte Köpfe bringen es zu Nichts unter irgend welchem Systeme.

Lehrfreiheit ist in grossem Umfange nur auf deutschen Universitäten, und zwar auf protestantischen, zu Hause. An anderen, und vielfach auch an ihnen, wurde sie durch confessionelle Rücksichten, dogmatische Einseitigkeiten, und tyrannische Gelüste verkümmert. Lehrfreiheit gedeiht weder unter dem päpstlichen Regiment, noch unter dem des politischen Absolutismus. Aber bei allen Verkümmerversuchen ist der Grundsatz immer festgehalten worden, dass Lehr- und Lernfreiheit das nothwendige und gesunde Postulat für eine Universität sind.

Dies Postulat wird gestützt durch die Art der Vorbildung, welche von den Aspiranten für eine deutsche Universitätsbildung verlangt wird. Diese Vorbildung ist vorzugsweise klassisch. Griechisch und Lateinisch sind die Hauptfächer des Gymnasial-

unterrichtes. Vielleicht liegt es am germanischen Knaben und Jünglinge, vielleicht an der Weise des Unterrichts von Seiten der bestellten Lehrer, dass der teutonische Abiturient nicht immer ein gesundes Gemisch von Hellenen- und Lateinerthum liefert. Wie tief aber das Gefühl der Nothwendigkeit klassischer Bildung als Vorschule für eine freie Universitätsbildung in das Bewusstsein der deutschen Gebildeten gedrungen ist, davon legt die Thatsache einen Beweis ab, dass die in Deutschland oft angeregte Frage, ob nicht die Abiturienten von einem Realgymnasium zum Studium der Medicin zugelassen werden sollen, schliesslich immer noch mit "nein" beantwortet ist, trotzdem, dass nach der deutschen Gewerbeordnung vom Jahre 1869 der ärztliche Beruf zum "Heilgewerbe" erniedrigt worden ist. Dafür spricht vielleicht auch die oft geäusserte, und nachgeplapperte, in ihrer Berechtigung übrigens sehr fragliche Redensart, dass die Schlacht von Sadowa "vom deutschen Schulmeister," nach anderer Lesart "vom deutschen Gymnasium" gewonnen worden ist.

Uebrigens ist die Frage, ob eine Gymnasial- oder eine Realvorbildung eine bessere, oder gleichwerthige Vorschule für Universitätsstudien bilde, noch nicht erledigt. Die Zahl Derjenigen, welche das Sprachstudium auf dem Gymnasium oder College, und dasjenige der Mathematik, einfach als geistige Disciplin aufgefasst wissen wollen, und welche daher der Meinung sind, dass, bei sonstigen praktischen Vortheilen, das Studium der modernen Sprachen mit dem der klassischen identische Resultate erziele, ist nicht gering. Bei der Abschätzung

von Durchschnittswerthen, wenn es sich um an und für sich unmessbare Grössen, weil innerliche Gradwerthe, handelt, giebt es keinen positiven, und Allen gemeinsamen Massstab. Dieselben Grade und Arten des Unterrichtes schaffen nicht gleiche Menschen. Auch Aristides und Cimon waren verschieden. So kann man nicht leugnen, dass gar Mancher ein grosser Philosoph, Humanist, Socialpolitiker, Advocat oder Arzt sein kann, ohne Unterschied ob er entweder einem Symposion mit allen Geistern des Alterthums beigewohnt, oder an den Brüsten der Natur sich vollgesogen, oder bei Goethe, Corneille, oder Shakespeare in die Schule gegangen ist.

Ueberdies sind die neuesten Vorgänge auf vielen deutschen Universitäten nicht dazu angethan, den Eindruck zu verstärken, dass das Studium der Humaniora auch humane Jünglinge schafft. Die Rohheiten der antisemitischen Bewegung finden ihre Hauptvertreter einerseits in dem Abhub der ignoranten Bevölkerung der grossen Städte Deutschlands, andererseits in der "*jeunesse dorée*" des Gymnasialunterrichts. Die mittelalterliche Barbarei des "Hep hep"-Wahnwitzes wird von den jungen Leuten geübt, welchen schwarz auf weiss bezeugt worden ist, dass sie mit Homer, Horaz, und sogar Sophokles Bekanntschaft gemacht haben. Es giebt nach deutschen Zeitungen kein abstossenderes Knotenthum, als dasjenige, welches sich in deutschen Hörsälen und Kneipen breit macht. Leider sind das Thatsachen, welche Ihnen Allen bekannt sind, und für welche uns unter unseren freieren Institutionen und in

unseren menschlicheren Anschauungsweisen fast das Verständniss abgeht. So viel ist aber gewiss, dass entweder Homer, Horaz und Sophokles allein den Barbaren nicht erlösen, oder aber dass die Beschäftigung mit den Geistern der alten Welt, wie sie bisher und noch immerfort auf deutschen Hochschulen geleitet wird, vielleicht den Kopf zu füllen, aber nicht das Herz zu klären im Stande ist.

Somit werden Sie den Umstand nicht für abgeschmackt erklären können, dass in den Bedingungen zur Zulassung zur Johns Hopkins Universität gelegentlich die neueren Sprachen als Ersatz für Griechisch angesehen werden.

Der Bericht des Präsidenten erzählt ausführlich, was in Bezug auf ihre Stellung zur Universitätsfrage von der Johns Hopkins Universität bisher geleistet worden ist. Dem Grundsatz getreu, nur das Beste zu leisten, und lieber langsam als schlecht zu arbeiten, ist bisher von der allseitigen Pflege von Fachwissenschaften vollständig abgesehen worden. Wenn es irgend Etwas giebt, das die dünnkelhafte Unterschätzung amerikanischer Neigungen und Leistungen Lügen straft, so ist es diese Thatsache. Nichts kennzeichnet die Tendenz der Johns Hopkins Universität besser, als gerade der Umstand, dass der meiste Werth auf Dasjenige gelegt wird, was sich nicht ohne Weiteres in Dollars umsetzen lässt. Das Hauptgewicht ist zunächst auf die Gründung der philosophischen Facultät gelegt worden—im Sinne dessen, was man bisher auf deutschen Universitäten, vor dem Versuche, die philosophische von der naturwissenschaftlichen Facultät zu trennen, unter dem Na-

men einer philosophischen Facultät verstanden hat. Die Unterrichts- und Vorlesungsgegenstände, zum Theil auch nach deutschem Universitätsmuster in Seminarien gepflegt, waren Mathematik, Physik, Chemie, Biologie, vergleichende Anatomie—Griechisch, Lateinisch, Englisch, germanische, romanische, Sanskrit und semitische Sprachen—Geschichte, National-Oekonomie, Logik, Ethik und Geschichte der Philosophie. Dabei wurde von vornherein darauf Rücksicht genommen, dass feste Anstellungen von Lehrern nur mit grosser Umsicht gemacht werden sollten. Man verlangte entweder eine Berühmtheit, oder doch die Gewissheit, dass die Anzustellenden zu gleicher Zeit gute Lehrer und selbstständige Arbeiter waren. Wir Alle wissen, bis zu welchem Grade jede der uns bekannten deutschen Universitäten an einem oder dem andern Mangel gekränkt hat. Da war ein grosser Name, dessen Inhaber in die grösste Verlegenheit gerieth, wenn sein Finger auf eine falsche Zeile seines ängstlich gehüteten Heftes glitt, oder wenn ein vorwitziger Hörer eine bescheidene Frage stellte—oder da war ein Sohn eines einflussreichen Professors, der Universitätslehrer wurde, *tant bien que mal*, ein Naturforscher, der ganz genau docirte, wie viele Theile Kohlenstoff einen Theil Sauerstoff machen, u. s. w.—oder ein berühmter Gelehrter, dem die Gabe des Wortes so fehlt, dass die abwesenden Leser seiner Gedanken glücklich sind, verglichen mit den Unseligen, welche am Ende des Semesters sein Zeugniß benötigen. Das sollte in Baltimore vermieden werden, und es dauerte lange, bis nur ein halbes Dutzend

Professorenstellen schliesslich fest besetzt wurden. Diesen aber und ihren Gehülfen, und den ausserordentlichen Docenten ging man mit grossem Eifer entgegen. Man sorgte dafür, dass Niemand zu viele Unterrichtsstunden aufgeladen wurden. Schranken für individuelle Arbeiten gab es nicht, Apparate und Bücher wurden bereitwillig beschafft. Da die Classen regelmässiger Hörer in diesen ersten Jahren nicht gross waren, so war obendrein der Einfluss der Lehrer auf die Studenten und Hörer ein sehr grosser, und die Verwirklichung dessen, worauf eine Universität ursprünglich berechnet sein soll, gemeinschaftliches Arbeiten von Lehrern und Studenten, wurde leicht hergestellt.

Die Studenten der neuen Universität waren zum Theil junge Leute, welche sich auf andern Anstalten schon ein Diplom erworben hatten. Deren gab es in diesen vier Jahren 127. Von diesen waren 51 Stipendiaten von einer für deutsche Ohren ziemlich ungewöhnlichen Art. Es giebt ja auch an deutschen Universitäten und Akademien gelegentliche Stipendien, welche Denjenigen gegeben werden, von denen man aussergewöhnliche wissenschaftliche Gegenleistungen in der Zukunft glaubt erwarten zu können. Aber von dem Umfange, zu welchem die Johns Hopkins Universität dieses Stipendienwesen ausgedehnt hat, wird man anderswo keinen Begriff haben. Jungen Leuten, welche anderswo ihren Cursus vollendet haben, wird die Gelegenheit geboten, kostenfrei ihre Studien in Hopkins fortzusetzen. Während so Einzelne sich für Professuren und andere Lehrstellen vorbereiten und parat halten, während Andere keinen andern Zweck

im Auge haben, als selbstständige und langwierige Untersuchungen zu machen, und sich für eine streng wissenschaftliche Laufbahn vorzubereiten, zahlt die Universität für ihren Unterhalt, und zwar reichlich, um sie jeder Nahrungssorge zu entheben. Und vorzugsweise sind es exclusive Gelehrten-Carrieren, welche in dieser Weise gefördert werden, weniger Fach-, resp. Brotstudien.

Die Studien, welche von den Stipendiaten besonders gepflegt wurden, waren daher in 6 Fällen Mathematik, 6 Physik, 8 Chemie, 10 Biologie, 8 Griechisch, 3 vergleichende Philologie, 3 Geschichte und Staatswissenschaften, 4 Philosophie und Aesthetik, 2 Ingenieurwissenschaft, 1 Mineralogie. Von denjenigen, welche von der Universität ganz abgegangen sind, hat die grössere Anzahl Anstellungen als Lehrer und Professoren in allen möglichen Zweigen, in der Coast Survey, im N. Y. Metropolitan Museum of Art, in der Fish Commission u. s. w., oder auch in praktischen Fächern gefunden.

Die Auswahl der Stipendiaten steht natürlich dem Verwaltungsrathe zu, der an Vorsicht, Gewissenhaftigkeit und Vorurtheilslosigkeit den höchsten Erwartungen entsprochen hat. So hatte sich z. B. Fräulein Christine Ladd, im Vassar College zu Poughkeepsie promovirt, einen grossen Ruf durch ihre Leistungen in der Mathematik erworben. Sie wurde daher am 2. Juni 1879 persönlich vom Vorstande der Johns Hopkins Universität aufgefordert, ihre Studien in Baltimore fortzusetzen, und zu dem Zwecke mit einem Stipendium zu dem gewöhnlichen jährlichen Betrage von fünfhundert Dollars versehen.

Uebrigens sind die Bedingungen der Gewährung eines solchen Stipendiums sehr strenge, wie Sie aus dem vierten Berichte des Präsidenten entnehmen können. Es heisst da folgendermassen :

“ Von jedem Candidaten wird das Beibringen seines College-Diploms, oder der Besitz eines anderweitigen Zeugnisses über seine Tüchtigkeit erwartet, welches von der Anstalt ausgestellt ist, in welcher er seine Ausbildung erhalten hat. Ausserdem soll er Empfehlungen von Denjenigen vorweisen, welche befähigt sind, über seinen Charakter und seine Kenntnisse Zeugniß abzulegen. Danach soll er mündlich oder schriftlich seine bisherigen Leistungen und seine Pläne für die Zukunft auseinandersetzen, und Proben seiner literarischen oder wissenschaftlichen Arbeitsfähigkeit liefern, welche die Facultät in den Stand setzen können, über seine Ansprüche zu urtheilen. Nur in diesem Sinne giebt es Antrittsprüfungen; formelle Fragen und Antworten werden nicht gestellt, und bestimmte Leistungen nicht erwartet. Dann werden die Ansprüche des Candidaten von dem speciellen Lehrkörper, dem ganzen Professoren-Collegium, dem Executiv-Committee und zuletzt von dem ganzen Verwaltungsrath in Betracht gezogen und schliesslich entschieden. Alle diese Vorsichtsmassregeln haben ihren Zweck insofern erreicht, als dadurch eine Genossenschaft von ungewöhnlich tüchtigen und versprechenden Studierenden gebildet worden ist, deren Fähigkeiten in vielen Fällen durch Berufung an Lehrerstellen aller Art schon anerkannt worden sind.”

Von den übrigen Studirenden wird vor der Matriculation eine gewisse Summe von Kenntnissen ver-

langt, welche dem Besten gleichkommt, was von den vorgeschrittensten Colleges geleistet wird. Während es allerdings zur Blüthe einer wissenschaftlichen Anstalt erforderlich ist, dass sich grosse Zahlen von Studirenden sammeln, so ist als erste Regel doch ein möglichst strenges Examen und grosse Leistungsfähigkeit vor der Aufnahme festgehalten worden. Neben dem, was man unter einer guten "Englischen Ausbildung" versteht, und einigen Kenntnissen in den Naturwissenschaften, wird ein reichliches Quantum von Lateinisch, Griechisch und Mathematik verlangt; Griechisch kann indessen von denjenigen Applicanten, welche vorzugsweise Naturwissenschaften studiren wollen, durch Französisch und Deutsch ersetzt werden. Die Erfordernisse für die erste Ehrenstufe, das Baccalaureat, welche mit einem Diplom belohnt wird, sind übrigens nicht immer gleich. Denn je nach den Neigungen und Specialstudien der Einzelnen wird neben allgemeinen Kenntnissen der meiste Werth auf einzelne Fächer gelegt, wie klassische Studien, oder Mathematik, Chemie und Physik, Philosophie, Biologie, oder moderne Sprachen.

Anfangs des Jahres 1880 bestand der akademische Stab aus dreiundreissig Personen. Davon fungirten, neben dem Präsidenten, sechs als ordentliche Professoren. Ihre Namen sind :

Präsident Daniel C. Gilman, ehemals Professor an Yale College, und Präsident der Universität von Californien.

Basil L. Gildersleeve, Professor des Griechischen, promovirt in Princeton und Göttingen, ehemals Professor an der Universität von Virginien.

H. Martin Newell, von der Universität zu London und Cambridge, Professor der Biologie.

Charles D. Morris, Professor des Lateinischen und Griechischen, promovirt in Oxford, ehemals Professor an der Universität von New York.

Ira Remsen, Professor der Chemie, promovirt im College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, und in Göttingen, ehemals Assistent der Chemie in Tübingen, und Professor in Williams College.

Henry A. Rowland, Professor der Physik, ehemals Adjunct-Professor in Polytechnic Institute in Troy.

J. J. Sylvester, Professor der Mathematik, ehemals in derselben Eigenschaft in Woolwich, und Mitglied einer grossen Anzahl europäischer Gesellschaften.

Ausser diesen gab es 6 regelmässig angestellte Docenten, 14 Adjunct-Professoren, und 6 Assistenten. Im Jahre 1880 stieg die Zahl der Adjunct-Professoren auf 18, diejenige der Docenten auf 22, und der Assistenten auf 11.

Als Studenten waren im Lehrjahre 1879 bis 1880 159 Personen eingetragen. Von diesen besaßen 79 schon ein Diplom; 20 von diesen 79 bezogen ein Universitäts-Stipendium. Ausserdem waren regelmässig matriculirt 32, und ohne Matrikel zu den Vorlesungen zugelassen 48.

Neben diesen wurden 85 Hörende in den Listen aufgeführt, davon 20 Lehrer, für einen Specialcursus in Alt-Englisch;

24 Lehrer, für einen Specialcursus in der Theorie der Zahlen;

16 Studenten der Medicin, für physiologische Demonstrationen;

4 Studenten der Medicin, für mikroskopische Anatomie;

6 Hörer, für einen Cursus über vergleichende Constitutionsgeschichte;

10 Arbeiter im Chesapeake Zoologischen Laboratorium, und 5 Geistliche für einen Cursus in Neutestamentlicher Exegese.

Von den Studenten trieben

Mathematik 31,

Physik 38,

Chemie 46,

Biologie 32,

Griechisch 36,

Lateinisch 40,

Deutsch 60,

Englisch 19,

Romanische Sprachen 39,

Sanskrit 8,

Geschichte und politische Wissenschaften 33,

Logik 16,

Philosophie und Ethik 12.

In demselben Jahre wurden 10 öffentliche Curse gelesen, im Ganzen mit 101 Vorlesungen, und einer Durchschnittszahl von nicht weniger als 113 Hörern.

Diese Curse waren über

Englische Poesie mit 170,

Französische epische Poesie mit 57,

Biologie mit 73,

Theorie der Physik mit 142,

Italienische Renaissance mit 212,

Die Vedas mit 151,

Griechische Tragöden mit 114,

Geschichte der Philosophie mit 123,
Französische Literatur mit 47,
Nationalschulden mit 41.

Zu diesen Vorlesungen, welche übrigens nicht zu denjenigen gehörten, welche man gern als populäre bezeichnet, wurden die Eintrittskarten in der Weise vertheilt, dass zunächst die Mitglieder der Universität, dann Lehrer an öffentlichen Anstalten, und schliesslich das gebildete Publicum bedacht wurden.

Specialcourse wurden ausserdem von Specialisten gelesen, so z. B. über Hydrodynamik, über die mathematische Theorie des Teleskops, u. s. w.

Eigentlich fachwissenschaftliche medicinische Vorlesungen wurden nicht gehalten. Die Zukunft des medicinischen Unterrichts in Baltimore wird über das, was die gegenwärtige medicinische Schule leistet, weit hinauszugehen haben. Vorläufig hat, schon vor Jahren, der Verwaltungsrath die Meinungen and Rathschläge berühmter Engländer eingeholt. In Uebereinstimmung mit den Auslassungen von Huxley, Paget, Callender, Ackland, Stokes, Savory und Anderen ist beschlossen, dass eine lange und gründliche Vorbereitung der künftigen Mediciner in Physiologie, Chemie, Biologie und Laboratorienarbeit dem eigentlich fachwissenschaftlichen Studium voranzugehen habe.

Denn wenn es irgend ein Fachstudium giebt, das mehr als andere, einer tüchtigen allgemeinen Vorbildung bedarf, so ist es das medicinische. In Bezug auf dieselbe steht es in der Johns Hopkins Universität den übrigen Fächern gleich. Soll ich Ihnen auseinandersetzen, welcher Art die Vorbildung ist,

welche unsere Studenten zum Studium der Medicin mitbringen? Vor einigen Jahren rühmte ein öffentlicher Redner bei der Jahresversammlung einer, wegen der umfassendsten Schul- und allgemeinen Bildung ihrer Studenten bekannten hiesigen medicinischen Schule, dass siebzehn Procent der Studirenden mit einem Diplom von einem literarischen College versehen seien. Siebzehn Procent! Wenn nun das geschieht am grünen Holze, was soll am dünnen werden. Denken Sie sich, eine deutsche medicinische Facultät rühme sich der That- sache, dass nur dreiundachtzig Procent ihrer Studenten unwissend, und unvorbereitet für das Studium sind! In Pennsylvanien sind die A. B.'s unter den Aerzten gezählt worden. Wenn man Pittsburgh und Philadelphia abrechnet, so finden sich nicht zwei A. B.'s durchschnittlich in jedem County. In einem County mit achtzig Aerzten giebt es gerade zwei. Nicht fünf Procent von allen den 80,000 Personen, welche in den Vereinigten Staaten medicinische Praxis treiben, können sich jenes Titels rühmen. Die Hälfte der praktischen Aerzte, besonders auf dem Lande, wissen ihre Sprache nicht orthographisch zu schreiben. Ein berühmter Professor in Harvard macht die Mittheilung, dass von Denjenigen, welche das College ehrenhaft absolvirt haben, sehr selten einer zum medicinischen Studium übergeht, dass das letztere aber von Denjenigen gewählt wird, welche kläglich oder gar nicht durch's Examen gekommen sind. So weit ist es schon gekommen, dass kein tüchtig vorgebildeter junger Mensch zum Studium der Medicin übergeht.

Nicht immer war es so. Schon im vorigen Jahrhundert verlangte die Universität von Pennsylvanien Lateinisch, Mathematik und Naturwissenschaft von ihren Matrikulanten. Auch New Jersey hatte ein ähnliches Gesetz. Im Staate New York wurde 1792 ein Gesetz gegeben, nach welchem ein Mediciner ohne ein College-Diplom ein Jahr extra zu studiren hatte. Noch 1818 anerkannte die Legislatur unseres Staates die Nothwendigkeit klassischer Studien.

Es ist nicht nöthig hier nachzuweisen, wie das Alles so gekommen ist ; wie der Schreinerlehrling, der kränklich gewordene Schneider, der zum Arbeiten zu faule Handwerker neben dem feingebildeten und gut unterrichteten A. B. auf die medicinische Schulbank geräth—oder darauf hinzuweisen, dass der ärztliche Stand wegen seiner Unbildung in Misscredit gerathen ist, fast so schlimm wie in England, wo ein gebildeter Praktiker die Ausnahme bildet—oder zu erklären, wie denkende und grosse Aerzte so selten, und der gewöhnliche Routinier und der rohe soi-disant Specialist so häufig sind. Was ich wollte, war nur, darauf hinzuweisen, wo der Mangel liegt, und dass ihm abgeholfen werden muss, und dass der Johns Hopkins Universität auch hier der Vorrang in der Etablirung der Neuerung gebührt, nur gut vorbereitete Studenten zuzulassen. Es ist wahr, dass vor fünfundzwanzig Jahren die Universität von Pennsylvanien einen ähnlichen Versuch machte, aber sie musste ihn aufgeben. Doch die Tradition hat sich in dem Institute erhalten. Es hat, wie auch Harvard, seit einigen Jahren auf der Bedingung vorausgehender Prüfung in

einigen Fächern bestanden, und hat die Probe glücklich überwunden, zum Beweise dafür, dass auch Studirende, wie Publicum, allmählich besserer Einsicht zugänglich werden.

Die grossen Werkzeuge des Universitätskörpers sind zum Theil in Arbeit, zum Theil in der Bildung begriffen. Für Apparate sind bisher 32,000 Dollars verausgabt worden. Die Bibliothek bestand im letzten Jahre aus nur 7,000 Bänden, aber sie waren sorgfältig ausgewählt und wurden bis zum heutigen Tage bis auf 9,000 Bände, zu dem Gesamtbetrage von 26,000 Dollars, vermehrt. Das Peabody Institut hilft ausserdem aus, und zwar in dem republikanischen Geiste, welcher die selbstdenkende und selbstthätige Leistung liberaler Menschen auszeichnet. Denn in einem Bericht des Peabody Institutes heisst es folgendermassen: "Unsere Bibliothek wird, wie nie früher, auf die Probe gestellt werden, durch Gelehrte und deren Schüler, welche in Folge der Errichtung der Johns Hopkins Universität nach dieser Stadt kommen werden. Ihren Bedürfnissen müssen wir durch den Ankauf von Büchern Genüge leisten, so weit dies einer Bibliothek, welche nicht eine streng gelehrte ist, sondern für den Gebrauch des Publicums im Allgemeinen gegründet wurde, gestattet ist. Man muss ihnen die grösstmögliche Erleichterung gewähren." Diese ächt republikanische Tendenz, den Nachbarn die Wege zu ebnen, und für ähnliche Ziele die eigenen Mittel gern zur Verfügung zu stellen, kann nicht stark genug betont und anerkannt werden.

Im Uebrigen haben die Sammlungen von Kunst- und naturwissenschaftlichen Gegenständen kaum

begonnen. Die Nähe Washington's soll vorläufig aushelfen. Aber man braucht sich nicht einzubilden, dass Sammlungen, zu deren Erreichung von Thür zu Thür mindestens zwei Stunden gehören, und welche nur zu bestimmten Zeiten durch die Eisenbahn zu erreichen sind, von besonderem Nutzen für die grosse Zahl der Studirenden sein können. Was diese nicht entbehren können, ist Zeit, und abermals Zeit. Essen und Schlaf können auf das Minimum reducirt werden. Aber der Tag hat nur vierundzwanzig Stunden. Das weiss der Verwaltungsrath der Johns Hopkins Universität übrigens recht gut. Wenn nicht schon grosse Ankäufe gemacht worden sind, so ist das aus Sparsamkeitsrücksichten geschehen. Denn bisher ist das Kapital nicht angegriffen worden. Es wird erwartet, dass reiche Mitbürger, welche das langsame Vorschreiten der Sammlungen beobachten, ein Einsehen haben und mit einigen Hunderttausenden oder mehr aushelfen werden. Darauf wird in Baltimore mit Bestimmtheit gerechnet; man weiss, dass das Geld irgendwo vorhanden ist, und erwartet sein demnächstiges Erscheinen. Bürgertugend ist nicht so selten hier, dass man ihre Bethätigung nicht mit Sicherheit erwarten könnte. Ein Beispiel der Art kenne ich aus persönlicher Erfahrung. Thomas Wilson, ein alter Mann in Baltimore, starb vor mehr als einem Jahre. Er hinterliess eine halbe Million zum Besten kranker und armer Kinder, speciell zur Gründung eines Sommer-Sanitariums. Ein New Yorker Arzt wurde aufgefordert, einen Plan für den Zweck auszuarbeiten, und machte dem Präsidenten des Verwaltungsrathes die Bemerkung,

es werde nicht ganz leicht sein, sich in den Rahmen der halben Million zu fügen. Die Antwort war buchstäblich die folgende: "Kümmern Sie sich nicht um das Geld. In Baltimore ist noch sehr viel. Machen Sie Ihre Pläne so ausführlich wie Sie dieselben für nöthig halten, und vergessen Sie gar Nichts, was irgendwie jetzt oder zukünftig von irgend welchem Nutzen sein kann. Ich will alle Ihre Absichten und Ansichten kennen, und wir wollen sie in Baltimore ausführen. Das Geld ist irgendwo, und wir werden es schon bekommen."

Bibliotheken und Sammlungen lassen also für den Augenblick noch viel zu wünschen übrig; aber die Universität ist erst vier Jahre alt. Doch in einigen Laboratorien, dem chemischen, physikalischen, und biologischen, und in den Seminarien wird fleissig und erfolgreich gearbeitet. In ihnen sind Apparate und Werkzeuge in so genügender Menge vorhanden, und werden nach Bedürfniss so bereitwillig gestellt, dass die gewonnenen Resultate sich günstig stellen und sich mit denen der alten Welt, ihrem Werthe nach, wohl vergleichen lassen. Nebenarbeiten, wie die von Professor Ira Remsen für den Nationalen Gesundheitsrath gemachten Untersuchungen über den parasitischen Luftinhalt, gehören zu den besten in der Art, und sind den, wie das gewöhnlich bei ihm ist, populär gehaltenen, fast feuilletonistischen Versuchen Tyndall's an eigner Arbeit und wirklich neuen Resultaten weit überlegen.

Ein grosser Theil der Arbeiten der Laboratorien, Seminarien und einzelner Forscher sind in den Journalen zerstreut. So enthält das in London er-

scheinende *Journal of Physiology* verschiedene Arbeiten aus Baltimore. Aber für manche der gelieferten Arbeiten und Aufsätze gab es keine passende Zeitschrift im ganzen Lande. So ist die Universität von vorn herein genöthigt gewesen, an die Herausgabe eigener Journale zu denken. Vier solcher Publicationen sind im regelmässigen Erscheinen begriffen. Von dem *American Journal of Mathematics* sind zwei Bände veröffentlicht. Ebenso von dem *American Chemical Journal*. Das dritte Heft des *American Journal of Philology*, von Professor Gildersleeve redigirt, ist im Erscheinen begriffen, und die *Studies from the Biological Laboratory* füllen bisher einen Band. Ausserdem verdienen, neben den umfangreichen Jahresberichten, die Circulars (*Johns Hopkins University Circulars*) Erwähnung, welche von Zeit zu Zeit veröffentlicht werden, und dazu bestimmt sind, das Werden und Wachsen und Arbeiten der grossartig angelegten Anstalt dem gelehrten und gebildeten Publicum darzulegen.

In dem Schul- und Unterrichtswesen der Republik der Vereinigten Staaten wiederholt sich die Erfahrung des politischen Lebens. Die politischen Existenzformen der alten Welt stützten sich bis vor Kurzem ausschliesslich auf die Gesinnungen, Fähigkeiten oder Möglichkeiten einzelner Menschen oder Dynastien. Von ihnen war auch die geistige Entwicklung der Massen bedingt. In der Republik vollzieht sich der umgekehrte Process. Das Gemeinwesen bildete sich vor Kurzem, und entwickelt sich unter unseren Augen aus den Individuen, die geistigen Bedürfnisse werden durch

das Zusammenthun der Individuen befriedigt, das Volksschulwesen bedarf keiner Dictate von oben, die höheren Schulen verdanken ihre Existenz zum Theil Privaten, zum Theil Municipien, gelegentlich den Legislaturen aufstrebender Staaten, zu deren ersten und vornehmsten Leistungen die Dotation öffentlicher Anstalten, und Staats-Universitäten gehört hat. Das Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit geht der Masse der Gleichberechtigten nicht verloren. Das Bewusstsein der Verantwortlichkeit den Einzelnen gegenüber lebt kräftig im Staatswesen, das Gefühl der Verpflichtung in vielen Derjenigen, welchen Zufall oder Arbeit, oder beide, grosse Glücksgüter zugewendet haben. Es giebt keine grosse Stadt der Union, kaum eine der mittleren, welche nicht schon jetzt, nachdem die Constitution der Vereinigten Staaten ihr hundertjähriges Jubiläum noch nicht gefeiert hat, Denkmäler der gedankenvollen Fürsorge begüterter und gemeinnütziger Mitbürger aufzuweisen hat. Nicht immer zwar sind die Mittel verständig verwandt worden, aber selbst wo religiöse Inbrunst und Sectengeist die Wohlthätigkeit und den Bürgersinn in zweifelhafte Bahnen geleitet haben, ist der Gemeinsinn anzuerkennen, welcher der Mitlebenden gedenkt, und für die Nachwelt zu schaffen bestrebt ist. Unsere eigene Weltstadt hat manche Proben davon abgelegt, doch ist nicht zu verkennen, dass gerade wir im Verhältnisse zu dem vorhandenen Reichthum am wenigsten geleistet haben. Denn allerdings sind Millionäre auf Millionäre im Reiche der Schatten verschwunden, ohne etwas Anderes zurückzulassen als die Dunkelheit ihrer Namen.

Wenn New York nicht mehr bloß die Stadt des Erwerbs und des Aufhäufens sein wird, wenn der Charakter der Stadt nicht mehr durch das unverdaute Gemisch aller möglichen Nationalitäten gebildet sein wird, welche um Existenz ringen, dann wird auch New York nicht hinter den anderen Städten der Union nicht zurückbleiben. Zur Berücksichtigung sittlicher und geistiger Interessen gehört eine gewisse Ruhe und Sammlung, welcher dieser treibende und wogende Markt noch nicht theilhaftig geworden ist. Bis jetzt hat eine verhältnissmässig kleine Stadt, wie Baltimore, noch den Vorrang vor uns. Die materiellen Interessen werden gewiss in einer Hafen- und Handelsstadt, wie Baltimore, nicht vernachlässigt. Aber die verhältnissmässige Ruhe derselben erlaubte eine Einkkehr in sich selber Denjenigen, in deren Händen sich grosse Mittel concentrirten. So hat, schon vor Johns Hopkins, George Peabody durch das erwähnte, reich dotirte Lehrinstitut mit Bibliothek sich verewigt, so hat in jüngster Zeit Thomas Wilson durch ein reiches Legat sich der Armen und kranken Kinder Baltimore's angenommen, wie ich nach den langsamen, bedächtigen und gründlichen Vorbereitungen überzeugt bin, zum dauern- den Heil der Unterstützten und direct Betheiligten, und wenn ich mich nicht sehr irre, zur Förderung eines bedeutenden Theils der Volksgesundheitslehre.

Schauen wir zum Schluss dieser Skizze auf das vom der Johns Hopkins Universität Geleistete zurück, so ist es absolut nicht viel, relativ aber Gewaltiges. Es war die Absicht das Institut nicht

sofort fertig hinzustellen, sondern es sich organisch entwickeln zu lassen. In dieser Entwicklung ist es erst begriffen, aber der Held Roland zeigt sich schon in frühester Jugend. Was den deutschen Universitäten, den besten der Welt, nur theilweise gelungen ist, Herstellung wahrhaft wissenschaftlichen Eifers in den gut vorbereiteten Massen, und höchster Cultur, gegründet auf klassische und wissenschaftliche Bildung, hat sich aus dem Hirn des Baltimorer Autodidakten als Nothwendigkeit entfaltet, und ist in der Verwirklichung begriffen. Bisher ist in dieser Entwicklung kein Missgriff geschehen, die Harmonie durch Misstöne nicht gestört worden. Der Verwaltungsrath ist glücklicherweise eine geschlossene Gesellschaft von einfachen, einsichtigen und consequenten Männern, welche das Recht und die Pflicht haben, im Fall von Tod oder Resignation sich zu ergänzen. So kann man mit Sicherheit darauf rechnen, dass weder die Pläne des Gründers gekreuzt, noch dass seine Ziele verrückt werden. Die Anlage der Universität ist den grossartigsten gleich. Sie verspricht das Haupt und Vorbild der Institute Amerika's zu werden, und lässt in ihrem Zuschnitt erkennen, in welcher Richtung die Cultur Amerika's sich entwickeln wird. Die höchste Cultur aber ist nichts eigenartig Nationales mehr, sie ist kosmopolitisch und human. So wird in Zukunft das beste Streben Amerika's dem besten Europa's gleich sein. Wo Homer und Sophokles, Natur und Philosophie als die Grundlagen menschlicher Cultur und Weisheit betrachtet und gelehrt werden, hört die nationale Beschränktheit auf. Wer das

Beste leisten wird in ein hundert Jahren von heute, ob Europa oder Amerika, ist zweifelhaft genug. Ich glaube ebenso wenig an den Untergang Europa's, wie an die dauernde Unreife unserer Hemisphäre. Wenn es sich um Unterricht und Bildung in den unteren Schulen handelt, so sind wir vielleicht jetzt schon den meisten Ländern Europa's überlegen. Selbst die Resultate des Schulzwanges in bestregulirten europäischen Lande lassen viel zu wünschen übrig, und lassen sich mit denen unserer öffentlichen Schulen nicht vergleichen. Werden in jenem die Unterthanen hinreichend vorbereitet, um Steuerzettel und Conscriptions-Aufforderung nothdürftig lesen zu können, so liefern die letzteren Schüler, welche für den einfachen Geschäfts- und Arbeitsbetrieb gut vorbereitet in's Leben treten. Beides ist wohl nöthig—an sich und als Stufe zur Weiterbildung—aber es ist eben nur Stufe.

Doch ich wollte nicht vergleichen, ich wollte Ihnen nur ein einfaches Bild von demjenigen entwerfen, was für die Möglichkeit einer wirklichen Universitätsbildung in Baltimore sich im Laufe von nur wenigen Jahren angebahnt hat, und zwar ohne viel Geschrei und Gethue. Der wohlthuende Hauch der Ruhe und Bildung liegt über dem gemessenen Benehmen des Verwaltungsrathes und der geweihten Arbeit der Wissenschaftler. Denn nur Diejenigen, welche Nichts leisten, müssen lärmern und prahlen. Weder Shoddythum, noch Chauvinismus hat eine Stelle in Johns Hopkins. Wenn, wie Alle vertrauen, die Arbeit und Entwicklung vor sich geht wie bisher, so wird es vielleicht in fünfundzwanzig Jahren kein Institut in

der ganzen Welt geben—denn fünfundzwanzig Jahre sind eine lange Zeit in unserem Lande—dessen Ruf ein fester stehender und verdienterer, und dessen Einfluss auf die geistige und moralische Entwicklung der besten—und dadurch aller—Klassen der Gesellschaft ein segensreicherer sein wird, als derjenige der Johns Hopkins Universität in Baltimore.

REPORT

OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CO-OPERATE WITH
THE NEW YORK SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION
OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN, 1881.

At the meeting of the Medical Society of the State of New York, held on February 4th, 1880, it was resolved that the President appoint a committee, consisting of five members, to co-operate with the "New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children" in all things pertaining to the physical and moral welfare and safety of infants and children, and report at the next annual meeting. The members of the Committee were: Drs. S. O. Vander Poel, of Albany; E. M. Moore, of Rochester; James P. White, of Buffalo; Joseph C. Hutchison, of Brooklyn; and the undersigned, chairman.

In reference to the several points discussed with the President of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the following letter was received:

THE NEW YORK SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY
TO CHILDREN,
100 EAST 23D STREET, NEW YORK, January 31st, 1881. }

Dr. Abraham Jacobi, Vice-President State Medical Society.

DEAR SIR:—Aware of the great influence which your Society possesses throughout the State and with the Legislature, and in recognition of the material aid which its members have

always generously accorded to the work of this Society in its efforts to rescue helpless little children from pain, suffering, and misery, I venture to suggest the following matters at the present time as worthy of consideration by your Society at its ensuing annual session.

1. The subject of *wet-nurses* is one particularly deserving of careful consideration. This is a matter which more peculiarly demands attention in our large cities. Where the health of the mother renders it impossible for her to nurse her own offspring, she is compelled either to resort to artificial means of support for her infant, or to the procuring of some other mother to take her place. The result has been, in our large cities, a species of "wet-nurse agency," by which the medical man to whom is entrusted the important responsibility of selecting and procuring the wet-nurse is furnished with the names of those who have recently become mothers and are willing for pecuniary considerations to supply the place of wet-nurse. The abuse growing out of this, and which has been painfully brought to the notice of this Society in more than one instance, has been a species of "baby farming," incidental to those who make an habitual practice of living as wet-nurses for the wealthy, at a large remuneration, and of farming out their own children, where the latter are subjected to unusual hazards from imperfect nutrition and want of the mother's care. It is not an unusual thing for a woman to take care of a number of children thus farmed out, and, after spending the money received from the ignorant mothers who live as wet-nurses, with but few opportunities of inspecting the condition of their own children, to practically neglect them and deprive them of medical aid when they most need it. The result is a frightful mortality, especially in the summer season, among children who, in the eyes of this Society, are equally entitled to protection with those belonging to the wealthy, and who are nourished with the food which Nature designed for the former. In addition to this, the women who serve as wet-nurses, owing to a want of systematic examination and the issuing to them of a proper license by a competent medical man, are frequently employed for that purpose

when suffering from either strumous or syphilitic constitution, which results in the imbibing of liquid poison, the effects of which are perhaps not visible for years after by the unfortunate child they are called upon to nourish. It does seem to me that this subject of wet-nurses is one which ought properly to be placed entirely under the control of the medical profession. In each county there should be a standing committee of medical men to examine and license those desirous of serving as wet-nurses. A woman should be prohibited from acting in that capacity without such a license duly granted, and which license should be revocable at the will of the board issuing it. At the same time, that board could very readily provide for the proper maintenance of the child of the wet-nurse, either in a suitable institution or under its own surveillance, in such a manner as at all events to diminish the probabilities of the mortality which now prevails.

2. *The Employment of Children of Tender Years in Unwholesome Occupations.*—In our large cities a very great number are hired at a miserable pittance in feather factories paper-collar factories, and paper-making factories, in which poisonous aniline and other dyes are used to a great extent. The imprisonment of these children in close rooms, with unwholesome particles floating through the air, resulting from the use of the material which they are engaged in manipulating, is, I am informed, a prolific source of early disease, and is particularly productive of pulmonary complaints. So, too, the use of children in tenement houses, in the sorting and rolling of tobacco leaves for the purpose of the manufacture of cheap cigars, is another matter deserving of medical attention. I am assured that the tobacco dust which is necessarily inhaled in these manipulations is very injurious, not only to the respiratory organs, but also to the nervous system of the children employed. In all these cases the law (Laws of 1876, Chapter 122) prohibits the employment of any child under the age of sixteen years in any business, exhibition, or vocation injurious to the health or dangerous to the life or limb of such child. And the question with which this Society has to deal is whether the specific business or vocation in ques-

tion is, in a medical point of view, so injurious or dangerous. The pronounced opinion of the medical profession in every such case is controlling alike with a court and jury. The only difficulty is a difference of opinion on the subject between medical men. It does seem to me that the concentrated wisdom of the entire medical profession, openly expressed at the annual gathering of its most éminent members throughout this great State, would be alike controlling with the Legislature, the court, and the jury, in cases where these employments are resorted to of children within the specified age simply as a method of pecuniary benefit to the parents. The law requires that the parent shall protect the health and life of the child ; that the parent shall not utilize the child, merely for the purpose of pecuniary advantage, to the detriment of its health, life, or limb. It is the province of this Society to protect the children, first and last. With the needs of the parent it has nothing to do. If the parent is unable to protect the child, the law points out a simple and adequate method of dealing with such a case ; but hundreds of children in our great cities are hourly compelled to discount their future existence by engaging in employments of the kind which I have indicated, at an age when their little physical systems are unable to grapple with the inroads of disease made by the dangerous and pernicious influences resulting from the employments in question. In France a recent statute has been passed containing a supplementary list of occupations in which the employment of children is forbidden, the reasons alleged being principally from the danger of explosions, burning, or deleterious vapors. The industries thus vetoed are the manufacture of aniline, benzin, collodion, nitrate of methyl, sulphuret of arsenic, sulphuret of sodium, and of blister leaves ; in the textiles, of rag sorting, and the scouring of skins and woollen waste with petroleum or other hydrocarbon-retted oils ; in the metal trades, the galvanizing of iron. Children are also not allowed to be employed in places where chemical alumettes are stored, nor in those processes of their manufacture where the mixture is prepared or the matches put up into packets. A partial employment only, under cer-

tain conditions, is allowed in industries where sulphuric acid is engaged, such as in wool or silk bleaching, as well as in those where unwholesome dusts are given off, as in the preparation of tow for rope, and the manufacture and cleaning of bladders for toy balloons.

3. *The Proper Medical Care of Children* is a matter also worthy of consideration. Only recently, in the month of October last, a child was found in the top story of a tenement house in 47th street, in this city, in charge of drunken parents, deprived of light and all of the ordinary comforts of life, and suffering from a fearful ulcer, accompanied with a necrosis of the bone of the right leg just above the knee. The parents *refused* to permit the child to be sent to any hospital, and asserted that they were competent to deal with the case without medical interference. It was only by very adroit management on the part of the Society that sufficient evidence was obtained to warrant the arrest of the parents, and the child was sent to Roosevelt Hospital, where, it is needless to say, under the excellent surgical care of the professional gentlemen connected with that noble institution, its health has continued to improve, and before long it will be permanently cured. An act of the Legislature, authorizing the examination of any child by a properly licensed physician or surgeon within the district, by an order of the Supreme Court, on the application of the Society, on facts presented, would, it is believed, very greatly facilitate the rescue of very many children from the ignorance and stupidity of parents whose prejudice against hospitals and medical men practically deprives the child of that right to the enjoyment of its health and life which it is the intention of the people of this State to secure to even the humblest of its members.

I have enumerated above only a few of the crying evils existing at the present day in relation to children which come within the province and knowledge of this Society and which it desires to rectify. I am confident that the hearty co-operation of your excellent Society will not only strengthen the hands of this institution, but greatly conduce to the spread of those humane sentiments which are implanted in the breast

of every conscientious medical man, and will further the weight and influence of the medical profession in alleviating the sufferings to which humanity is heir.

A proper memorial from your Society, at the present time, to the Legislature, would, I am sure, meet with prompt attention.

I have the honor to remain, with profound respect,

ELBRIDGE T. GERRY, *President, etc.*

In regard to the first point contained in President Gerry's letter, your Committee fears that a plan of effective superintendence, such as proposed, is hardly feasible. A certificate given to a wet-nurse may prove dangerous to the public seeking to employ a wet-nurse, for the changes in the health and milk supply of a nurse are frequently very rapid. In families employing a wet-nurse the attending physician will superintend and control. The infants of the rich are not endangered, but those of the wet-nurse, left to the care of strangers, require particular attention. They, and the infants of the poor in general who have no breast milk, are those in whose favor your Committee would enlist your sympathy, and requests you to listen to the following remarks and propositions. In this connection it may be stated that they have been presented for the consideration of the Board of Trustees of the Thomas Wilson Sanitarium, Baltimore, Md., and are herewith laid before you for your scrutiny and, if possible, adoption.

The mistakes in the diet of young children, and the injurious effects due to them, are the result of ignorance on the part of mothers or nurses in regard to what constitutes proper nourishment and how

to obtain it fresh and unadulterated. Ignorance cannot be cured at once. As to the feasibility of supplying the poor infants in large communities with wholesome, fresh, and unadulterated food, however, we desire to make a practical proposition.

We insist upon the fact that the part of the population which is subject more than any other to acute disease and chronic ailments consequent upon improper feeding is under two years of age; that the greater mortality is in individuals not above that age, and is due mainly to diseases of the alimentary canal. It is, therefore, in regard to the food which is required during the first two, or perhaps three, years of life that we desire to speak.

The food of infants and children is of such a nature as to render a sufficient and wholesome supply easily obtainable. Except under circumstances to which we will allude, no variation in the diet is required, and no stimulants—no spices, no mixtures. Day after day, month after month, the baby takes the breast or sucks its bottle. The child eats the same plain food every morning, noon, and night without longing for a change—in fact, refusing a change, and yet thrives. Thus it will be seen that the bill of fare for babies and children is a very simple one, easily enumerated, and, as a rule, easily procured. The mercenary spirit of tradesmen, as exhibited in the recklessness with which they practise deception, and thus exert a depreciating influence upon the health of the community in general, and children in particular, is the reason why we desire that some means should be devised by which an adequate supply of wholesome food

may be placed within the reach of every infant and young child of the poor class.

The safest food for an infant is the breast milk of either its mother or a wet-nurse ; a wet-nurse is out of the question for the babies of the poor. When no breast milk can be had or the supply is insufficient, substitutes must be employed. As soon as weaning becomes a necessity, which, under ordinary circumstances, is after a few teeth have made their appearance, artificial feeding takes the place of the natural supply. The articles of food remain the same for a long time, no change being required except a gradual increase in the consistence of the meal.

What this nourishment should be one of your Committee has stated in a little book on "Infant Diet," second edition, 1875, and in an essay on "Infant Hygiene," edited by Dr. Buck, New York, 1879. The rules laid down in these publications are the result of no mere theoretical convictions, but the outgrowth of experience collected during a quarter of a century. They are borne out by chemical facts and the teachings of infant physiology. In the hands of the Board of Health of the City of New York, by whom they have been extensively published and distributed in the beginning of every summer for the last eight years, they are known to have done much good ; they have certainly done so in our hands. With the judicious official additions, mainly under Section III., made by the Board of Health, they read as follows :

RULES FOR CARE OF INFANTS.

HEALTH DEPARTMENT, }
No. 301 Mott street, New York. }

At a meeting of the Board of Health, held June 3d, 1873, the following series of rules (approved by many physicians) for the management of children during the hot season, with a view to prevent the large annual mortality of this class, was submitted by the Sanitary Committee and ordered to be printed :

I.—NURSING OF INFANTS.

Overfeeding does more harm than anything else ; nurse an infant a month or two old every two or three hours.

Nurse an infant of six months and over five times in twenty-four hours, and no more.

If an infant is thirsty give it pure water or barley water (no sugar).

On the hottest days a few drops of whiskey may be added to either water or food, the whiskey not to exceed a teaspoonful in twenty-four hours.

II.—FEEDING OF INFANTS.

Boil a teaspoonful of powdered barley (ground in coffee grinder) and a gill of water, with a little salt, for fifteen minutes, strain, then mix it with half as much boiled milk, add a lump of white sugar, size of a walnut, and give it lukewarm from a nursing bottle. Keep bottle and mouthpiece in a bowl of water when not in use, to which a little soda may be added.

For infants five or six months old give half bar-

ley water and half boiled milk, with salt and a lump of sugar.

For older infants give more milk than barley water. For infants very costive give oatmeal instead of barley. Cook and strain as before. When your breast milk is only half enough, change off between breast milk and this prepared food.

In hot weather, if blue litmus paper applied to the food turns red, the food is too acid, and you must make a fresh mess, or add a small pinch of baking soda. Infants of six months may have beef tea or beef soup once a day by itself, or mixed with other food ; and, when ten or twelve months old, a crust of bread and a piece of rare beef to suck.

No child under two years ought to eat at your table.

Give no candies, in fact nothing that is not contained in these rules, without a doctor's order.

III.—SUMMER COMPLAINT.

It comes from overfeeding and hot and foul air. Keep doors and windows open.

Wash your children well with cool water twice a day, or oftener in the hot season.

Never neglect looseness of the bowels in an infant ; consult the family or dispensary physician at once, and he will give you rules about what it should take and how it should be nursed. Keep your rooms as cool as possible ; have them well ventilated, and do not allow any bad smell to come from sinks, privies, garbage boxes, or gutters about the house where you live. See that your own

apartments are right, and complain to the Board of Health, 301 Mott street, if the neighborhood is offensive. Where an infant is cross and irritable in hot weather, a trip on the water will do it a great deal of good (ferryboat or steamboat), and may prevent cholera infantum.

By order of the Board,

CHAS. F. CHANDLER, *President*.

EMMONS CLARK, *Secretary*.

The object, then, is to place a full supply of food within the reach of every infant or young child. Such articles of food are powdered barley or powdered oatmeal, sugar, milk and eggs. To children they should be supplied in about the following quantities: Powdered barley, a package of one-half pound to a child under one year of age every week; two such packages for a child of from one to two years of age. When oatmeal is required it may be supplied in the same quantity as barley. Eggs, seven a week for a baby a year old or less; fourteen a week for a baby over a year old. Sugar, half a pound a week. Milk, twelve ounces for a baby under a year, twice daily; twenty ounces for a child over a year, twice daily.

It is only in regard to the milk supply that there is any actual difficulty. Adulterations can be avoided by careful watching and examination, but the influence of heat on cow's milk is such that it is difficult to avoid the danger of acidity and fermentation during the hot days, for cow's milk when leaving the udder is sometimes not alkaline. The transformation of milk sugar into lactic acid

takes place very rapidly, and a single failure in procuring sweet and proper milk may be the cause of disease and death.

The frightful mortality due to improper food is easily explained, and the efforts which are put forth to avoid it, to be of any avail, must be permanent and persistent. We propose that there should be a place or places in large cities, and particularly in New York, where the infants and young children of the poor may be supplied with the simple though sufficient articles of food. The only risk in establishing such stores would be the salaries of saleswomen. But these expenses may as well be borne by the purchaser, for we do not propose that a large part of the population should be a receiver of alms. From a humane and economical point of view only, we insist that the poor should be enabled to buy an absolutely good quality of the necessaries of life and health. It is they who are more liable to be deceived as to quality and price in all they obtain. Hence whatever the infant requires in the way of food ought to be bought by those who are responsible for it, at a fair price. By responsible party is meant the workingman who supplies his family, or society which sustains its members not provided with family support.

One good cow will supply milk for five babies, or five children over a year old. A full supply of good milk ought to be transported to the city twice daily for all infants and children who come under the provision of this arrangement. Careful watching is required. While the admixture of water does not harm milk except by diminishing its relative

value, it is still a deception to be guarded against. Admixture and adulteration always require the application of proper tests. Though we expect that fresh milk will be supplied, souring takes place so rapidly that we deem it proper to guard against it ; at all events, in the summer months. We recommend that the milk be not sold in its raw condition, but boiled at once. It is an unmistakable fact that boiled milk keeps better than raw milk. Still another step may be taken in a different direction. We propose that an addition of bicarbonate of soda be made to the milk that is sold for infant food, in the proportion of one part to a thousand. This small quantity will retard the souring of the milk somewhat. The addition of the sodium salt to cow's milk and its admixture with farinaceous substances render it more similar to woman's milk in regard to the chemical constituents of its salts. The purchasers of such milk should, after all, be directed to carefully boil it again, for, by repeating the boiling, souring will be effectually prevented.

The sale of food should be a permanent affair, and not limited to the summer months ; for though the influence of summer heat is certainly most detrimental in connection with improper feeding, yet the latter is at all times the main source of danger and permanent injury to infants and young children.

Mortality from diseases of the alimentary canal is great in winter as well as in summer. Although these diseases are not fatal to the same extent in winter, the amount of harm done to the digestive organs, lymphatic glands, and powers of assimila-

tion, which persists after apparent or partial recoveries, can only be judged from the large number of dyspeptics, and those prematurely decrepit both physically and mentally, who owe their illness to chronic or acute disorders of the alimentary canal during early life.

Persons making application to be regularly served should, before such permission is given, be known as deserving the privilege. This information can easily be obtained in regard to those who have had occasion to apply at dispensaries for treatment, or the applicants can prove their claim by a note from a neighbor or the attending physician. At all events, care should be taken lest that part of the population who, under the present arrangement of society, must be expected to pay a legitimate percentage of profit to the class of traders should avail themselves of undue advantages and deprive worthy customers of their rights and privileges. The well-to-do have more facilities for guarding against being deceived and overcharged than those in whose favor we mean to interfere. There is one advantage at least which those in comfortable circumstances will gather from these efforts in behalf of the poor. The public sale of the simplest food for infants and children, which at the same time is the very best, will always constitute a powerful admonition and source of instruction to the whole community. The fact that infants and children will only bear, and absolutely require, plain, simple, wholesome, nutritious food, cannot be repeated too often. Let the practical teaching proposed by us be a warning and a blessing by communicating to

the public at large the information that the few articles we sell to the poor are those which are best adapted to the rich, and the only ones for the feeding of infants and young children of both the poor and rich. Nature is too republican in spirit, too democratic in character, to bow to differences of social standing. In this connection we again insist upon the fact just stated, which appears to be so self-evident as not to deserve mention. Still, with the utmost pertinacity the public insist upon giving their babies, as soon as weaning time arrives, such articles of food as they know nothing about. When an adult sits down to a meal and finds placed before him articles of food with which he is not familiar, he makes inquiries in regard to such articles before eating them. The baby, however, is credulously fed upon things with which the child, father, mother, or doctor has not the least familiarity; we refer to the foods for babies in the market and in general use. Most of these foods which are sold in large quantities have a composition which is unknown. When a manufacturer deigns to say anything about his merchandise, it is to the effect that the food offered is the best in market, that it is the proper thing and only thing for children and invalids of all ages, that the relation of the albuminous substances to carbohydrates is exactly correct, and that a package costs a certain amount of money. In regard to this subject the public appear to be smitten with absolute blindness. They insist upon forgetting that the man who offers for sale and advertises at a heavy expense does so, as society is constituted, for his pecuniary advantage solely. To

say that when the article offered is not good it will find no market, is deceiving yourselves, experimenting on your baby, relying on the character of a single man or corporation, on the honesty or intelligence of the manufacturer's chemist, or his superintendent, or his workmen, on the nature and condition of the elements used in the composition of the article, and on ever so many influences which can work before the manufactured article gets into the hands of the consumer. Why the sellers and advertisers of unknown compounds should be more trusted than those who raise and sell a simple article of food, such as milk, which is constantly adulterated, can hardly be perceived. Is it necessary to say that the factory furnace is lighted more in the interest of the proprietor than for the benefit of the public, and that the examination of many of the foods for sale in different packages and in different years yielded different chemical and analytical results ?

Meanwhile it is a fact that no better food can be procured than what Nature offers with a willing hand, for little work, at a trifling expense. There is no food on which infants and children of all classes thrive better, thrive so well, as the few articles the sale of which, in the manner described, is recommended to you. In this respect, at least, and at this early age, there is equality amongst the members of society. Therefore the sale of no patented article of food will ever be recommended by us, nor do we see that anything could be added to the articles above enumerated, with the exception of brandy. The influence of the summer heat is

not only destructive in its effects upon food, but also, and mainly, by its debilitating influence, upon the nervous system. It is a physiological fact, always observed and firmly founded on experimental science, that the nervous system of little babies is easily overthrown by two entirely different conditions, both of which are equally dangerous. The nervous system of the newly born baby is rather torpid and dull in its action; there is in it very little nervous function, the sensitive part being particularly poorly developed. This condition depends upon the crude and undeveloped state of the brain and nervous system from an anatomical point of view. The nervous system of the baby is not yet fully differentiated into its later constituents; it is not mature. Thus a slight influence from without may extinguish the light which is burning but dimly. After a number of months, however, the sensitiveness of the rapidly developing baby brain and nervous system is so great, while the equilibrium between the several constituents is not yet established, that slight disturbances will result in irregular reflexes, convulsive movements, and death.

The influence of heat exhausts not only the action of the great nerve centre, but also the peripheral nerves—mainly of the digestive organs. There are days in which a stimulant may safely be and should be given to an apparently healthy child. When the baby can be taken from the stifling room to a gentle breeze, from the rear of his tenement with the exhalations from the sewer or privy to sea air or the mountains, it is not required. But when the

hot season is at its height and the baby is suffering from it, without an opportunity to escape, a few drops of brandy are required ; under such circumstances it is not simply a preventive remedy. The clamor of a few temperance papers and fanatics over the teaspoonful of brandy or whiskey recommended in the rules distributed by the New York Board of Health has not prevailed upon that authority to withdraw the advice, and has not prevented that advice from rendering good service.

We therefore propose that an ounce of brandy or whiskey per week be added to the list of foods for sale during the four months from the 15th of May to the 15th of September, providing the weather is dangerous, as must always be expected at that time. Whether you will conclude that the sale of the above article in the quantity mentioned ought to be controlled by the advice or direction of a physician, may perhaps depend on local or personal considerations and must be left to your wisdom. At all events, your Committee requests that the State Medical Society express its approval of this or a similar plan to supply the infants and young children of the poor of the large cities with normal, plain, and wholesome food. Your sanction of such a plan will undoubtedly result in facilitating the putting in practice of a scheme which, as we firmly believe, will render great and lasting service. The pecuniary aid required in the commencement is more likely to be obtained when those who have the means are made aware that the Medical Society of this great State has willingly and heartily indorsed the suggestions embodied in this report.

The persons to whom the sale of such articles of diet as we have mentioned could be trusted must be selected with care. There should be a small store, or a number of stores, arranged for the purpose in convenient parts of the city ; or the necessary articles may be placed on sale in groceries, apothecary shops, or rooms adjoining dispensaries.

In regard to the second point contained in President Gerry's letter—viz., the employment of children of tender years in unwholesome occupations—he is probably mistaken when he believes that there is a difference of opinion among medical men. The subject is well stated by him and refers to an outrage which requires the interference of the Medical Society of the State of New York. The Committee, appointed as below, is to be instructed, after mature deliberation and careful study of the occupations in question, of the laws existing both here and in Europe, to co-operate with the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children for the purpose of securing a legislative act protecting children from the dangers inflicted upon them constantly by improper employment.

In regard to the final suggestion of the President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, your Committee would direct attention to some facts which undoubtedly can be confirmed by every medical gentleman connected with public charities. Within the last twelvemonth, and many times before, cases have happened, in the hospital practice of your Committee's Chairman, in which children sick with serious, but not necessarily fatal, diseases have been removed from the ward and

taken home to die of disease and neglect combined, when the disease might have been stayed by careful nursing and skilled treatment. These occurrences did not take place in consequence of ignorance, but of wantonness and obstinacy. A few days ago a child with hip disease, whose mother (who, moreover, is dependent on and eagerly seeking aid from the sympathizing public) some months ago was with difficulty induced to put the child in charge of your Chairman's ward in the Mount Sinai Hospital, was removed and taken home. She was improving, but too slowly for the wilful anxiety of the mother. What will be the unavoidable result? The child, if she lives, will be a cripple, or a cripple and criminal combined. She will be the victim of her ignorant and vicious mother, and all the hopes of the young being will be blighted, to say the least, and not only the child, but also the commonwealth be made to suffer. That child, if she lives, will be a permanent source of care and expense to the community, who in future will have to feed and clothe her, to nurse her in hospitals or asylums, or to punish her in penitentiaries.

Such outrages ought not to be permitted. Thus far, any ignorant, petulant, and insolent mother, any drunken and loafing father, may have control of the innocent young. All the wisdom, willingness, and sympathy of society or the State go for naught. The commonwealth must in future see that those who cannot help themselves must be helped, in the interest of both the individual sufferer and the community. Thus your Committee is prepared to move : That a committee be appoint-

ed by you, which, in connection with the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, shall apply to the Legislature for an act providing for the helpless sick children whose health and life are endangered by those who ought to be their natural guardians, but who prove, by their acts, their enemies.

A. JACOBI,
Chairman of the Committee.

REPORT OF THE CENSOR TO SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY MEDICAL COLLEGE, 1881.

YOUR Censor, together with two other medical gentlemen appointed for the same purpose, attentively watched the examination of six gentlemen of the graduating class of the Medical College of Syracuse University, and all were impressed with the readiness with which correct answers were given to most of the questions put by the professors. The fact that in an oral examination a few of the questions were not rightly answered, when question and answer followed each other in quick succession, does not mar the general good impression made by the whole proceedings. The answers given to a large number of the questions put by some of the Censors demonstrated that not a few of the candidates had a good general knowledge of medicine and were capable of deliberation and logical thinking.

Now, an oral examination always carries with it an impressiveness which is apt to confuse and bewilder a candidate. In a written examination the absence of constraint and hesitation allows of more thoroughness than is possible in an oral examination. The Censors declare that the written examinations laid before them were highly satisfactory, for while the essays showed competency in medicine, they proved, besides, that the young gentlemen were not only medically but generally well educated. The latter point is one that cannot be urged

too forcibly upon both the profession and the public. The medical profession is becoming more and more convinced that the future welfare of its members and the public at large depends upon the general education of the practitioner. Of all the colleges in the State of New York, the Medical College of Syracuse University was the first to introduce a graded course of instruction, and to require an examination preliminary to the study of medicine. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the professors who did not fear to reduce the quantity of their students in the interest of the quality. Leaving the faculties of dozens of medical colleges behind, they rank in their intentions certainly with those of Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania.

The students of Syracuse University have a peculiar advantage. It is a well-authenticated fact that the students educated in the smaller universities of Germany and France are better prepared than those who have spent three, four, or five years in the great lecture rooms and amphitheatres of the large schools of Berlin, Vienna, or Paris. A student requires more than large museums, hundreds of patients, and large libraries to learn from. As much as anything else he requires the eye of his teacher, the personal contact with his professors, and personal observation. It is not a shipload of stores that gives strength and health. It is food, carefully and systematically selected for the individual stomach, and its digestive powers, that is beneficial. Therefore, instead of complaining of the small number in the classes, the Censors congratulate the students upon their increased individual

facilities in their first studies, the professors upon their greater success in teaching, and the public upon the better intellectual character of the young gentlemen educated in this institution.

I desire to say that in an address to the public of Syracuse on June 10th, 1880, in addition to the above remarks, I spoke at further length upon the advantages of collecting students in small classes and having them under the immediate supervision of competent teachers. Admitting all this, the drawbacks of such a condition of things should not be forgotten. The difficulties of pursuing medical studies increase in proportion to the absence of the possibilities of study. The ideal medical college, in addition to admitting none but well-prepared students to its classes, though they may not have a classical education, should afford abundant material to learn from: anatomical material, museums of anatomy and zoölogy, mineralogical collections, botanical gardens, ample reading rooms, large libraries, clinical facilities, and a large body of teachers and professors of all branches. The very best and most amply supplied colleges in the States are the first to admit that but a beginning has been made in the direction of complying with all these wants. As not even the colleges in the larger cities, or the institutions aided or supported by the State, come wholly up to the requirements of modern medical education, the difficulties in the path of the faculties of medical colleges located in smaller towns are evidently very great. Not only are the clinical advantages apt to be too small, and the museums, libraries, and anatomical subjects insufficient, but the

faculty may also find themselves cramped for want of able teachers. A dozen or more of competent medical teachers are not easily found in any community. The hard experiences and drudgery of practical work paralyze the purely scientific effort, and tax to an extreme degree the powers of the most capable brain coupled with great physical endurance. Many a good man cannot think of assuming the responsibility of a public teacher in addition to the performance of his daily duties. Besides, if there be men capable and willing to teach those branches by which no livelihood can be earned, they are more apt to be found in large cities, if at all, than in smaller communities. If they are to teach, they must live ; and where there are no funds from which ample salaries can be paid, many important branches of medical instruction have to be omitted altogether.

Moreover, the changes and necessities of life are such as to demand frequent changes in the ranks of the faculty and adjunct teachers. This certainly does not enhance the unity of instruction and the feeling of permanency and safety on the part of the professors ; and, in view of this fact, we cannot help expressing a fear, unless pecuniary aid be obtained either from the commonwealth or from wealthy individuals, lest many seats of learning will not render services commensurate with their ambition. Medical students do not require to be rich, as a celebrated European professor has lately claimed ; but a medical college must be rich in order to comply with both the requirements of modern teaching and the wants of medical students who have enough

intellect and ambition to compare satisfactorily with those who have studied under the most favorable circumstances.

While the Censor appointed by you has marked out some of the evils of medical education, he cannot at the same time offer remedies for them, but must limit himself to expressing his opinion concerning wants which cannot be supplied with the present means, but which he hopes and relies upon the future to satisfy.

A. JACOBI.



REDE BEIM ABSCHIEDSCOMMERS FÜR HERRN BAYARD TAYLOR

VOR SEINER ABREISE AN DEN
BERLINER GESANDTSCHAFTSPOSTEN, 1878.

HERR BAYARD TAYLOR :

MAN hat mir erlaubt, an dem heutigen Abend im Namen der Anwesenden zu reden. Wollen Sie daher, nachdem Sie vielen Versammlungen, Ihnen zu Ehren gehalten, beigewohnt, und vielen Reden, Ihnen zum Preise gesprochen, gelauscht haben, auch zu guter letzt uns Ihr Opfer bringen. Ein Opfer mag es schon sein. Mögen Sie aus der grossen Anzahl öffentlicher Kundgebungen der Art nur den Schluss ziehen, dass die Befriedigung über Ihre Ernennung zum Vertreter Amerika's bei dem deutschen Volke und der Regierung Deutschland's eine allgemeine war ; dass auch der Senat, dem überlegene, geistige, parteifreie Männer ein Gräuel sind, Ihre Bestätigung einstimmig dekretiren musste ; dass die gesammte Presse einstimmig Beifall rief, als Ihr Name genannt wurde ; dass die Masse des Volkes innigen Antheil nimmt, an einer Ehre, welche Ihnen erwiesen wird.

Soll ich nun Ihnen Glück wünschen ? Ganz gewiss wünsche ich Ihnen Glück zu der allgemeinen freudigen Anerkennung der Massen, welche die Besten auf der Menschheit Höhen erhebt. Wir wünschen Ihnen Glück zu dem Umstande, dass

Ihre hohe äussere Stellung Ihre Unabhängigkeit in keine Gefahr gebracht hat. Keine Bewerbung Ihrerseits, kein Pochen auf geleistete Dienste, keine Parteistellung und Parteiklepperei, kein Drahtziehen hat Sie in Ihr prominentes Amt gebracht. Wir wünschen Ihnen Glück dazu, dass Sie durch die allgemeine Stimme, wie durch allgemeines Bedürfniss erkoren sind. Wir gratuliren Ihnen, wenn und weil Sie es selber thun, dazu, dass Sie fern von dem aufreibenden Geschäft des täglichen Lebens und Erwerbes, Musse für, Ihren Neigungen und Ihrer geistigen Rüstung homogene, Arbeiten gewinnen werden; *dazu* vor allen Dingen, dass es Ihnen vergönnt sein werde, der selbstgestellten Aufgabe Ihres reifen Lebens gerecht zu werden, derjenigen nämlich, in der Umdeutung und Darstellung Goethe's die Blüthe deutschen Geistes auf den in steter Um- und Fortbildung begriffenen angelsächsisch kosmopolitischen Boden zu verpflanzen.

So weit gratuliren wir Ihnen. Zumeist aber gratuliren wir uns selber und den zwei Heimathen, welche in uns Anwesenden vertreten sind. Wir, die wir zu der Klasse derjenigen gehören, welche wohl entnationalisirt, aber nicht entdeutscht werden können, wissen zu beurtheilen, welcher Segen den beiden grossen Nationen Amerika's und Deutschland's aus Ihrer Thätigkeit und derjenigen Ihrer Arbeitsgenossen erwachsen ist. Vor zwanzig Jahren war die Klasse der Auserwählten hier, welche deutsche Literatur kannten und zu schätzen verstanden, äusserst klein. Seit jener Zeit haben grosse Veränderungen stattgefunden. Nicht zum

kleinsten Theil ist Ihnen das Verdienst zuzuschreiben, den Englisch redenden Amerikanern deutschen Geist und deutsche Cultur in der Literatur erschlossen zu haben.

Heute ist die englische Sprache in Deutschland kein Fremdling, die deutsche Sprache und Literatur in Amerika keine Unbekannte. In demselben Masse, wie durch vermehrte und beschleunigte Communication die Entfernungen verringert sind, hat das Verständniss der Sprache und des Geistes der beiden Völker zugenommen, ein steter Austausch hat stattgefunden und beide sind dadurch bereichert worden.

Die schönste Frucht jedweden internationalen Austausches der Art reift aus dem Zugänglichwerden der grössten Meister des Gedankens. Der Menscheng Geist ist nicht local, nicht national, nicht Eintagsfliege. Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller führen ein tausendfaches und allmächtiges, allgegenwärtiges Leben. Sie andern Ländern zugänglich, in andern Sprachen verständlich zu machen, ist eine so grosse Wohlthat der Menschheit erzeugt, dass nur die wirkliche Schöpfung der Werke des Genies eine grössere ist. Um das Dichtergenie zugänglich und verständlich zu machen, muss die Aufgabe von dem übernommen werden, dessen eigne Stirn von dem Götterfunken der Dichtung berührt wurde. Um Hiawatha ebenbürtig zu übersetzen, war Niemand Geringerer berufen und willig, als Ferdinand Freiligrath. Und eine wirkliche Umdichtung des grössten Dichterwerkes Goethe's und aller Zeiten hatte zu warten auf Bayard Taylor.

Im Uebrigen gilt unser hauptsächlicher Glückwunsch dem Lande unserer neuen Heimath, dem Lande der Zuflucht aus allen Regionen des Erdballs. Wir gratuliren dem Lande, welches den Sohn des Volkes und zugleich Aristokraten des Geistes und Herzens zu seinem Anwalt in der Ferne macht. In jenen beiden Eigenschaften sind Sie der ächte Vertreter des Amerikanerthums, wie die Zukunft es entwickeln muss und wird. Nur scheinbar liegt diese Zukunft in gar zu weiter Ferne. Denn die Selbstentwicklung grosser Massen kann nicht regelmässig, glatt, und immer dem Auge wohlgefällig von Statten gehen. Der Ocean wirft gewaltige Wogen, seine Oberfläche erscheint trüber als sie ist, und auch krystallhelles Wasser wirbelt Sand auf.

Das Volk, Herr Taylor, rechnet Sie zu der Klasse absolut überzeugungstreuer und zu gleicher Zeit eminent fähiger Männer. Aber mehr. Wer auch wenig von Ihren Werken gelesen hat, betrachtet Ihre Sendung nach Deutschland als einen Sieg der Geistigkeit über das Gemeine. Sie sind der Menge : der Arbeiter des Geistes, der Prophet, wie den Alten der Poet ein Seher, Weiser, Priester war—Alles in einer Person. In Ihnen sieht die Menge der Erfüllung einer Masse von populären Forderungen und Erwartungen entgegen. Auf Sie, auf Männer wie Sie, baut das Volk seine Zukunft. Wir schicken Sie nach Deutschland, nicht weil wir Sie für einen grossen Diplomaten halten in gewöhnlichem Sinne, sondern weil wir der Meinung sind, dass der geistig hochstehende Mann, der Gelehrte, der Dichter für uns der bessere Vertreter ist, als der, welcher die

Politik und Diplomatie zu seinem Handwerk gemacht hat.

Die Diplomatie und äussere Politik unseres Landes liegt einfach genug. Geographisch sind wir eine abgeschlossene Existenz; denn Canada's Schwerpunkt senkt sich ruhig und friedlich allmählich in der Richtung des Herzens der Vereinigten Staaten; und Mexico und Cuba werden hoffentlich im nächsten Jahrhundert unsere nationale Verdauung zu stören nicht berufen werden. Grenzstreitigkeiten giebt es nicht zu schlichten. Wir sind keine erobernde Macht, haben noch gar viel vor unserer eigenen Thür zu kehren, und sind in turbulent friedlicher Entwicklung begriffen, welche mit unseren Verhältnissen zu Europa Nichts zu thun hat. Die letzten Schwierigkeiten mit England, aus den Zeiten unseres Bürgerkrieges stammend, sind schiedsgerichtlich beseitigt. Die Zerwürfnisse in Europa und Asien berühren uns politisch nicht. Die Diplomatie einer Republik soll einfach sein. Gesunder Menschenverstand, Ehrenhaftigkeit, Consequenz ist die beste Politik der selbstbestimmenden Völker, wie des selbstbewussten Einzelnen. Mit den Grundsätzen der Menschlichkeit und Ehre verträgt sich gar wohl die Rücksicht auf das eigne Interesse, welches dem fremden nicht zu nahe tritt; und gar oft ist eignes und fremdes Interesse, individuell und im Völkerverkehr, identisch. So soll sich, so kann sich der nationale Verkehr nach denselben Grundsätzen, denselben Gewohnheiten regeln, welche sich im persönlichen individuellen Umgange und Interessenkampfe vollziehen.

Dieser Interessenkampf der grossen Massen ist

nun in unserer Zeit in einer Umbildung begriffen. Die Eine grosse Umgestaltung im europäischen Staaten- und Gesellschaftsleben besteht in dem Untergange des Absolutismus, in der allmählich sich vollziehenden Theilnahme der Massen, oder doch einer Masse, an dem Ganzen, oder doch einem Theil der Regierung. Auch darin brauchen wir freilich noch nicht einen vollständigen Sieg der Volksherrschaft über das "personal government" zu erblicken. Denn wir wissen gar wohl, was es z. B. heisst, wenn Russland über die Massregel der nächsten Tage sich noch nicht entschlossen hat. Es heisst, dass Gortchakoff die fünfzigtausend lebendigen Maschinen zur Besetzung der Festungen von Gallipoli noch nicht ganz beisammen hat. Wir wissen auch, was es bedeutet oder nicht bedeutet, wenn wir hören, dass "Deutschland bestrebt ist auszugleichen," oder dass "Deutschland in Sachen der Russen contra Türken, Oesterreicher, Engländer Unruhe an den Tag legt." Es braucht ja nichts anderes zu bedeuten, als dass im ersten Fall Seine Durchlaucht Daumenschrauben anprobirt, und im zweiten Fall vielleicht sich den persönlichen Magen verdorben hat. Wir wissen das recht wohl; aber auch, dass mit zunehmender Industrie und Einsicht und Gesittung, und seit der zarten Nachhülfe von 1848 die Mitregierung der Regierten auch in Deutschland eine Thatsache geworden ist, dass die Besten der Nation an der politischen Entwicklung thätigen Antheil nehmen, und dass auch der sogenannte gemeine Mann höhere Interessen kennen, höhere Thätigkeit entfalten gelernt hat, als sich vor dem Steuereinnehmer und dem Gens-

d'darm zu fürchten. Thatsache ist, was sogar in Deutschland seit 1866 und 1870 bekannt geworden ist, dass der deutsche Träumer aufgewacht, der deutsche Denker praktisch und der deutsche Michel in einen Michael verwandelt worden ist. Die allmähliche Verschmelzung der deutschen Stämme ist um so mehr ein ökonomischer und geistiger Fortschritt, als damit Hand in Hand geht die Thatsache, dass Gelehrte, Literaten, Denker auf dem Schlachtfelde gerungen, und im Rathe der Nationen all diese Jahre geplant haben. Die Politik wird eine Beschäftigung aller Klassen. Die Entwicklung Deutschland's ist eine freiheitliche. Einerlei wie langsam der Fortschritt der allmählichen Umwandlung sein wird, die Richtung der Umwandlung geht auf's Ziel der Republik. Millionen Jahre braucht der Darwinische Affe zum allmählichen Menschwerden; dass der Mensch zum Menschen werde, sollte nicht eben so lange dauern. Und wird's nicht.

Die zweite grosse Umgestaltung besteht in der sich schnell vollziehenden nationalen Abrundung. In dieser sehe ich die beste Gewähr eines dauernden "Friedens auf Erden und Wohlgefallens den Menschen." In ihr sehe ich die Vorbereitung zur Verbindung der Nationen, in ihr auch die einzige Möglichkeit einer gesunden Basis für die Verbesserung bürgerlicher und socialer Zustände. Vergessen wir nur nicht, dass die Weltgeschichte sich nicht in ein Menschenleben, das Unsrige, zusammendrängt.

Die Bethheiligung der Besten, die Vereinfachung der Interessen, das Zurücktreten persönlicher ab-

solutistischer Willkühr wird auch dem Völkerverkehr, der Diplomatie, den Stempel aufdrücken. Die besternten Militärs und die zugerichteten Diplomätlcr werden nicht mehr die Nationen vertreten; weder Gewaltthätigkeit noch Schliche werden nützlich oder erfolgreich sein. Kein Menzikoff und Ignatieff brauchen mehr die Geschichte der Nationen zu bestimmen. Die Gesandten zwischen dem einen und dem andern Brudervolke werden die Franklin sein, die Motley, Bancroft, Lowell und Marsh.

Heute heisst unser Gesandter Bayard Taylor. Ja wohl, unser Gesandter, in doppeltem Sinne. Einstimmig hat das gesammte Volk der Vereinigten Staaten seiner Ernennung applaudirt, und wir als ein Theil desselben.

Es giebt nur noch einen Mann, dem wir Deutschgebornen die Vertretung unserer neuen Heimath bei unseren Stammesbrüdern hätten anvertrauen mögen, Carl Schurz.

Diese Festlichkeit ist keine gewöhnliche hier zu Lande. In ihrer Art ist sie einzig, zu gleicher Zeit demokratisch und aristokratisch, weil ursprünglich exclusiv studentisch. Der Commers ist die Form, in welcher allein einst der sprudelnde Jugendmuth, und die stark empfundenen und polizeilich zurückgepressten Gefühle der Vaterlandsliebe und Zukunftshoffnungen sich Licht zu machen wussten. Vieles, was nur angedeutet werden durfte, manches, dessen Wünschen und Erhoffen allein die Jugend in Kerker und Tod stürzte, ist seit der Zeit verwirklicht worden. So hat denn der Inhalt der jugendlichen Hoffnungen und Bestrebungen wohl

gewechselt, aber die Tradition ist geblieben, und der Form haftet der alte Enthusiasmus an. Wenn Sie nun hinüberkommen in unsere ehemalige Heimath, die Ihnen so wohl bekannt ist, zu unsern jungen und alten Commilitonen, wollen Sie, unser Gesandter, ihnen sagen, dass die verschlagenen und die freiwillig gegangenen ehemaligen Deutschen wohl Amerikaner geworden, aber deutsch geblieben sind. Wollen sie aber auch hinzufügen, dass Niemandem diese Verbindung lieber ist, und natürlicher scheint, als dem gebildeten Amerikaner, der deutschen Geist und deutsche Cultur hochzuschätzen versteht. Wollen Sie auch, Herr Gesandter, berichten, dass was wir alten Commilitonen hinter uns liessen, in frischer Erinnerung bewahrt wird. Denn wir haben das Glück gehabt, dem Philisterium zu entgehen. Sagen sie ruhig unsern deutschen Altersgenossen, dass die frische republikanische Luft, die rege Betheiligung an dem Sturm und Drang des öffentlichen Lebens, das ewige Beegnen von zahlreichen Völkern und Sprachen, trotz harter Arbeit, trotz Müh' und Sorgen, trotz Erfolg und Misserfolg, trotz grauer Haare oder kahlen Kopfes, keinen Philistersinn aufkommen lassen. Sagen Sie auch, dass nicht einmal das "Philisterium" der Deutsch-Amerikaner aus Philistern besteht. Und das ist die Wirkung der politischen und socialen Luft welche wir athmen, der gemeinsamen Interessen welche uns treiben und bewegen. Das ist die Wirkung unserer Adoptivmutter, Amerika.

Und nun, Herr Taylor und Commersgenossen,

will ich es genug sein lassen. Aber nicht ganz. Füllt Eure Gläser und thut mir Bescheid.

Glück und Gedeihen dem Lande, unserem Lande, das nach hundertjährigem Kampf um seine Existenz mit dem Urwalde und der Armuth sich eine Stellung in der Reihe und im Rathe der Nationen friedlich erworben ; das trotz aller Mängel eine republikanische Staatsform geschaffen und in schweren Kämpfen erhalten und gefestigt hat ; das ehrenfest ist trotz der momentanen Calamität zweiundneunzig procentiger Demagogen, die gewogen und um mehr als acht Procent zu leicht befunden worden ; dem Lande das kein Philisterium kennt, dem Lande der Gegenwart und der besseren Zukunft—Amerika ! Ein Hoch !

REDE BEIM STIFTUNGSFESTE DES DEUT-
SCHEN GESELLIG-WISSENSCHAFTLI-
CHEN VEREINS VON NEW YORK,
AM 11. JUNI 1881.

MEINE HERREN !

Vor einem Jahre erschien es wünschenswerth und nothwendig, dass der Deutsche Gesellig-Wissenschaftliche Verein die Thatsache seines zehnjährigen Bestehens feierlich bekunde. Unter allgemeiner Theilnahme wurde damals das Stiftungsfest abgehalten. An diesem selben Platze hatte ich die Ehre, eine kurze Ansprache an Sie zu halten, und hier war es, wo Prof. Schem Ihnen in seiner concisen, philosophischen, unnachahmlichen Weise das geschichtliche Bild des Vereins, wie es sich im Laufe von zehn Jahren gestaltet und schrittweise entwickelt hatte, abrollte. Nicht das geringste Ereigniss in den Annalen des letzten Jahres ist die Thatsache, dass dieser unser Historiograph den heutigen Abend nicht mehr erleben durfte. Ihn, wie einige andere, wohlbekannte oder wohlverdiente Mitglieder hat uns der Tod geraubt. Es wird meine Aufgabe am Schlusse des Geschäftsjahres sein, sofern ich den Tag erlebe, auf die Verluste, welche wir erlitten, in gebührender Weise zurückzukommen. An diesem Abend, welcher dem Vereine und Vereinsleben gewidmet ist, ziemt es uns aber doch, der Todten zu gedenken, welche ein gemeinsames

Band mit uns umschlang. Ehren wir ihr Andenken, und gedenken wir gern und vorzugsweise unseres verstorbenen vieljährigen Präsidenten, dessen ununterbrochener Arbeit, dessen liebendem Streben dieser Verein so viel verdankt.

Der Umstand, dass den Mitgliedern des Vereins die Feier des elfjährigen Bestehens als selbstverständliche Massregel erschien, und dass wir uns an diesem Abend hier zu diesem Zwecke zusammenfinden, bürgt mir dafür, dass in dem Bewusstsein seiner Ziele und seiner Stärke keine Verminderung eingetreten ist. Der bescheidene Paragraph unserer Constitution, welcher besagt, dass der Zweck des Vereins ist, "den gebildeten Deutschen New York's einen Mittelpunkt zu schaffen für ihre geistigen Bestrebungen und Interessen, sowie seinen Mitgliedern Gelegenheit zu geben, sich durch gesellige Unterhaltungen einander zu nähern," drückt seine Ziele natürlich nur in den allgemeinsten Umrissen aus. Erinnern Sie Sich dessen, was Ihnen Schem am Schlusse seines historischen Rückblickes vor einem Jahre zurief:

"Unverändert winkt uns das Ziel, dem nachzustreben die Gründer des Vereins und alle später hinzutretenden Mitglieder beabsichtigten. Oder wer ist unter uns heute Abend, dem es einfiele, zu bezweifeln, dass die Deutschen New York's, der Metropole des Deutschthums Amerika's, der drittgrössten deutschen Stadt der Welt, einen Mittelpunkt haben sollten für ihre deutsch-geistigen Bestrebungen? Lebensfrisch und lebensvoll, wie nie zuvor, rauscht der Strom deutscher Gedanken durch die Menschheit des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, wie

der Nilstrom grosse geistig verdorrte Gefilde zu üppigem Wachsthum befruchtend. In stetig wachsender Zahl wallen, wissbegierig und empfängnisreif, die Zöglinge fremdzungiger Hochschulen aus allen Theilen Europa's, aus Amerika und von den fernsten Theilen der civilisirten Welt, zur Quelle des heiligen Stromes, um gemeinschaftlich mit der Jugend Deutschlands aus dem begeisternden Born idealer Wissenschaft und vergeistigter Humanität zu trinken. Sollte die deutsche Jugend der Vereinigten Staaten aufhören, sich an diesem Quell zu laben? Die Deutsch redende und durch Abstammung wie durch Sprache mit dem Stammvolk in lebendiger Verbindung stehende Bevölkerung der Vereinigten Staaten steht schwerlich an Zahl der Gesamtbevölkerung Bayern's und Würtemberg's nach, übertrifft dieselbe vielmehr wahrscheinlich um ein Bedeutendes. Ein numerisch so starker Vertreter deutscher Sprache, deutscher Ideen, deutscher Bildung sollte sich nicht nur empfangend verhalten, sondern sollte mit Bewusstsein und Energie theilnehmen an den Schöpfungen des deutschen Geistes. Zur Erreichung dieses Zweckes ist Concentration und Organisation der vorhandenen Kräfte unerlässlich. Je mehr ein Verein zur Erreichung dieses Zweckes beiträgt, um so grössere Genüsse wird er seinen eigenen Mitgliedern verschaffen, um so mehr wird er auf unsere Kinder, auf die heranwachsende deutsch-amerikanische Generation einwirken, um so mehr wird er auch der neuen Heimath, auf der das grösste Staatswesen der Weltgeschichte rasch heran zu wachsen scheint, zum dauernden Segen gereichen, und ihm namentlich die

vollste Eingiessung der Idealität vermitteln, in welcher die Deutschen unter den Nationen der Erde einen nicht bestrittenen Vorrang behaupten. Unser Verein hat sich bei seiner Gründung dieses Ziel gesetzt, und hat es in seiner zehnjährigen Geschichte nie aus dem Auge verloren. Nehmen wir heute einen neuen Anlauf, dieses Ziel zu erreichen."

Und was, fragen Sie mich, soll dieser Anlauf sein? Und wie wollen wir unser Ziel erreichen?

Sie haben seit unserem letzten Stiftungsfest mancherlei Schritte in der Richtung gethan. Sie haben eine grosse Anzahl guter Vorträge gehalten, manche davon einem weiteren Kreise des nicht der Mitgliederschaft angehörigen Publikums beiderlei Geschlechts zugänglich gemacht, für den Druck Ihrer Arbeiten Vorkehrungen getroffen, und die Zahl Ihrer Mitglieder vermehrt. Dies sind einzelne Massregeln, welche allmählich Früchte tragen müssen. Schwierig ist unsere Lage freilich. Wohl sind Die, welche unsere Sprache reden, nach Hunderttausenden zu zählen, aber noch heute tritt die Nothwendigkeit des kargen Erwerbes, die Ueberbürdung mit harter Arbeit, treten die grossen Entfernungen der gewaltigen Stadt, die Vielgestaltigkeit des Lebens, der Anschluss an das einheimische Element, unserer raschen Ausbreitung und unserem Gedeihen als Verein hindernd in den Weg. Und mehr noch als das Alles ist es *ein* Umstand, der uns für den Augenblick hemmen mag, wenn er auch in Zukunft uns fördern wird. Ein Verein wie der unsrige musste nothwendigerweise zuerst einen nationalen Charakter haben. Er entstand in einer Zeit, in welcher die grossartige, ruckweise

Entwicklung Deutschlands zu einer einheitlichen Gestaltung drängte. Dem nationalen Impulse, dem freudigen Kraft- und Pflichtgefühle des Deutschgeborenen konnte sich damals fast Keiner entziehen. Das Drängen nach nationaler Abrundung und Festigung, welche das Ziel der geschichtlichen Völkerentwicklung dieses Jahrhunderts zu sein scheinen, bemächtigte sich Aller, denn auf der neu gewonnenen Grundlage schien sich ein kräftiger, lebenssicherer Bau erheben zu wollen. So ging damals ein deutsch-politischer Zug, neben dem deutsch-philosophischen, durch unser Gemüth, und beeinflusste unsere Hoffnungen und Pläne. Es schadet ja nichts, dass die Erwartungen der Begeistertsten nicht in Erfüllung gehen konnten. Es vermindert unsere Theilnahme am deutschen Vaterlande nicht, dass der Griff derjenigen Millionen, welche stark genug waren, die vorläufig partielle Einheit zu schaffen, nicht auch zu gleicher Zeit die volle Freiheit erhaschte. Und die Thatsache, dass die zahlreichen Millionen Halbbildeter, und die noch zahlreicheren Millionen der Ungebildeten und Rohen, vom Mittelalter noch nicht Befreiten oder mittelalterlich Disponirten im alten Vaterlande nichts weniger als eine Harmonie der Gesinnungen und Gefühle präsentiren, vermindert unsere Anhänglichkeit an die Idee des Deutschthums nicht, wie wir sie im Busen tragen. Denn weder die Halbbildung, noch die Unbildung, noch die Rohheit müssen wir dabei mit in den Kauf nehmen—nicht das ist Deutschthum. Was wir an Deutschthum aus dem alten Vaterlande herübergetragen haben, und was wir zur Grundlage un-

seres Vereins zu machen gedachten, und gedenken, ist der Gedankenreichthum der Besten der Nation, die Selbstlosigkeit seiner Philosophen, die Idealität seiner Poeten, der Humanismus seiner Reformatoren, und die kosmopolitischen Tendenzen seiner Denker. Diese deutschen Eigenschaften haben schon viel früher, und viel mehr, den deutschen Namen geehrt, und deutschen Einfluss geschaffen, als die nationalen Grossthaten kriegerischer Natur in den letzten fünfzehn Jahren. Diese werden unserem Vereine schwerlich helfen; was allein unsere Stellung festigen und sichern kann, sind fernerhin unsere eigenen Leistungen. Wir Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten werden Niemanden als uns selber anzuklagen haben, wenn es uns nicht gelingt, durchzusetzen, was wir oft als Ziele unseres Vereins ausgesprochen haben. Neben Förderung unserer eigenen geistigen Interessen handelt es sich um diejenigen der Anderen, besonders der Englisch Redenden, und um die Beförderung der geistigen Verbindung der beiden grossen Englisch und Deutsch redenden Völkerfamilien, um die Verallgemeinerung deutscher Bildung und deutscher geistiger Interessen, um die Verbreitung einer humanistischen Weltanschauung; in praktischen Fragen der Politik und des bürgerlichen Lebens um Bethätigung der Bildung und Sittenreinheit, welche bei dem Individuum unerlässlich sind, und ohne welche das politische Gemeinwesen zu Grunde geht.

Man sage mir nicht, dass ich Unmögliches verlange. Die Anschauungen und Interessen der wahrhaft Gebildeten aller Nationen begegnen sich, denn die wahrhafte Bildung ist in ihren Endzielen

Humanismus, selbst wenn die Grundlage der Bildung nicht Classicität ist. Und die Schwierigkeiten sind nicht so gross, wie sie vor zehn oder gar zwanzig Jahren geschieen haben mögen. Die Kenntniss deutscher Sprache und Literatur hat sich unter unseren eingeborenen Mithürgern rasch verbreitet, deutsche Ideen und Philosophie haben rasch Eingang gefunden, ja die gebildetste Stadt der Vereinigten Staaten ist bekannt dafür, dass deutsche Literatur, schöne wie auch fachwissenschaftliche, vor allen anderen fremdländischen bevorzugt wird.

Die Schwierigkeiten sind aus einer noch anderen Ursache vielleicht gering. Nicht immer gehen bei unseren deutschen Landsleuten Classicität und Humanität, Unterricht und Bildung mit einander Hand in Hand. Im Gegentheile stehen die Beispiele von vollständig genossenem Gymnasial-Unterricht und Raufboldwesen, von Kenntniss der antiken Götter und Anti-Semitenthum auf deutschen Hochschulen bequem neben einander. Es scheint nicht, dass die gezwungene Uniformirung der deutschen Jugend in Latein und Griechisch auch ohne Weiteres Urbanität, Humanität und Bildung des Geistes und Herzens schafft. Auf der anderen Seite gibt es aber kein menschliches Material, das bei der Verfeinerung ohne Weiteres die schönste Politur so gut annimmt, wie das amerikanische. Im Amerikaner steckt nun einmal der "gentleman." Die besten Specimina gebildeter Menschen trifft man—wie wohl bekannt—in geistig freien und feinen amerikanischen Kreisen, und die Schnelligkeit der Entwicklung intellectueller und gemüthlicher Cultur in den letzten zehn oder zwanzig Jahren ist Je-

dem von uns aufgefallen, der zu beobachten Zeit und Gelegenheit gehabt hat.

Man sage uns auch nicht—oder ja, man sage es uns nur, dass dies Ideale seien: der Verein *soll* Ideale haben; das Reale macht sich genügend selber und ohne besondere Pflege geltend. Die Idealität, die Ideale des Einzelnen sind oft nur fähig, das eigene Gemüthsleben zu vertiefen. Die Ideale einer Genossenschaft, die sich ihrer Aufgabe bewusst ist, setzen sich in Leistungen um. Ich hoffe, dass viele unserer Mitglieder die Zeit erleben, in welcher man mit Bestimmtheit den Einfluss wird nachweisen können, den der Deutsche Gesellig-Wissenschaftliche Verein von New York auf die geistige Annäherung Deutschlands und Amerika's, auf die Hebung des hiesigen Deutschthums, auf die Verbreitung seiner Ideen, auf die Besserung des Erziehungswezens, auf die Reinigung der Politik gehabt haben wird.

Unsere Ziele und Zwecke sind um so leichter und durchgreifender zu erreichen, je stärker und umfassender der Verein ist. Lassen Sie uns daher darnach trachten, Gleichgesinnte in unserer Umgebung an uns heranzuziehen—Auswärtige aber in geeigneter Weise mit uns zu verbünden.

PRESENTATION ADDRESS, 1881.

IN former times I was not a stranger here. I have been a member of this Society these twenty-odd years, and have a long time ago enjoyed the greatest honor this Society can bestow on any Fellow. To-night I am the recipient of another unexpected honor, which, I assure you, as I appreciate it very much indeed, will prove an encouragement to resume in future my former relations to this important and instructive body. I have been distinguished by the committee in charge by the permission to address you, Mr. President, in regard to a fellow-member whom we all know, esteem, and honor.

For twenty-two years Dr. George F. Shrady has been the Secretary of this Society. He has filled that place as only he could have done. His reports have been careful, full, and correct. They have been a guide to the members, and a source of instruction to medical men in general. They have been read and studied over the United States and abroad, and they have contributed a great deal to fostering the love of pathological anatomy and its daily increasing study among the profession. That he, while being our Secretary for almost a generation, succeeded also in obtaining an extensive literary reputation; that, furthermore, by peculiar characteristics of his own, he endeared himself to a large circle of friends and admirers—all this is not

my domain to-night to allude to. What I am directed to express to Dr. Shrady, in simple and plain words, is the appreciation of his long and valuable services by the members of this Society.

We know quite well that he meant to perform his duty only. Neither he nor any other sterling man works for thanks or appreciation expressed in any way. The best intellectual and social labors are always performed by those who work from inner necessity only. But when one man works industriously, honestly, and usefully in the service of society, country, or scientific body, it is both natural and becoming, it is good instinct and wise principle, on the part of those who derived benefit from his personal efforts, to prove themselves worthy of them by word or action.

Thus, Dr. Shrady, I have the great honor of offering you, in the name of the members of this Society, this small token of our grateful remembrance of your great services. May you live long to enjoy both it and the spirit of appreciating friendship which dictated the gift !

RUDOLF VIRCHOW.

AN ADDRESS, INTRODUCTORY TO THE COURSE OF
LECTURES OF THE TERM 1881-1882.*

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Faculty, Fellow-Practitioners, and Fellow-Students.

THE bust exhibited here and the portrait shown are those of Rudolf Virchow. His name is familiar to all. His renown as a great scientist is older than probably any student in this hall, of as long duration as the life of many a practitioner of great skill and deserved reputation, and has been firmly established so long as to have accompanied the oldest of us through the best and most efficient part of our career. Him I selected for the subject of our conversation this evening. In my opinion there is nothing we can learn so much from as from the life of a great man. If that man be dead, his biography is a source of valuable instruction and admiring appreciation; if he be among the living, and known not to have spent a day of his life except in the service of science and mankind, he is deserving of being extolled to the young—and the old too—as a praiseworthy example. And if he can be shown to unite with the accomplishments of a savant the traits of genius, a universality of interests, and the beauties of a manly and refined nature; and further, if it

* Delivered in the lecture room of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, October 3d, 1881.

can be demonstrated that no man in old or modern time crowded more successful scientific work into one lifetime, that man ought to stand out before the eyes of the young man entering upon the study of medicine as his guiding star, as his ideal. For an ideal it is which the young want and require. Fortunate are those who look for theirs among the best and most perfect.

Rudolf Virchow was born on October 13th, 1821, in a little Pomeranian town—Schivelbein—in Northern Germany. In 1843 he graduated in medicine at the University of Berlin. In 1846 he was made prosector of the Charité Hospital, and controlled in that position the whole anatomical material of that great institution. His facilities he utilized at once in delivering courses of lectures on the subject of pathological anatomy. In 1847 he was appointed a regular lecturer in the University. In the same year, together with Reinhardt, who died in 1852, he founded his *Archiv for Pathological Anatomy and Physiology and for Clinical Medicine*, which has since completed its eighty-fifth volume.

In 1848 the Government sent him to Upper Silesia to study the typhus fever begotten by the misery and starvation of a vast population. His report was a masterpiece, containing close observations both of medical and social facts, highly valued by the profession, and, like his later book on the misery in the Spessart Mountains, by those in power and responsibility.

In 1849, together with Leubuscher, who also died young and too soon, like Reinhardt, he edited the *Medical Reform*. The ideas proclaimed by him,

and his participation in the liberal tendencies of the revolutionary movement of 1848, were disliked by the Government. He was dismissed from his public positions. But the medical societies of the city were so unanimous in their efforts to retain him that he was reinstalled; *for there is, after all, one force* more powerful and influential than swords and cartridges, even in soldier-stricken Germany—viz., public opinion. Still, he did not remain long in Berlin, but accepted the chair of Pathological Anatomy in the University of Würzburg, which he held until 1856, when he returned to Berlin in the same capacity.

Before he left Würzburg he published his "Collection of Contributions to Scientific Medicine" (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1856). His celebrated papers on "The Movement in Favor of Unity in Scientific Medicine," first published in 1849, head the list. I shall simply mention the titles of the rest, in order to recall to the older gentlemen in this audience the great revolutions in physiological and pathological knowledge which have taken place in our lifetime. There are his essays on "The Physical and Chemical Properties," the "Metamorphosis," the "Origin and the Coagulation of Fibrin," all of them written in 1845 and after. There are his celebrated papers on "White Blood Corpuscles" and "Leukæmia," dated 1845 and after, and his five hundred pages on "Thrombosis and Embolism," "Inflammations of Blood Vessels," and "Septic Infection," dated from 1846 to 1853; also "Contributions to Gynæcology," with papers on the "Puerperal Condition" (1847), the "Formation of the Placenta" (1853), "Uterine

Flexions" (1850), "Prolapse of the Uterus" (1846), and "Extra-uterine Pregnancy" (1850-56); on the "Elimination of Uric Acid in the Foetus and Newly Born" (1846), "Congenital Hydronephrosis (1854), and on "Apoplexy in the Newly Born" (1850); "Contributions to the Pathology of the Skull and Brain," which contains papers on the "Granular Appearance of the Walls of Cerebral Ventricles" (1846), on "Cretinism" (1851 and 1852), on the "Development of Cretinism" and "Cranial Deformities," on the "New Formation of Gray Cerebral Substance" (1851), and on "Senile Involution of Flat Bones" (1852); finally, a "Paper on Cancroids and Papillomata" (1850).

About the same time he was active with other problems. The "Collection of Treatises connected with State Medicine and Epidemiology" (Berlin, 1879) contains a number of papers written at that time. The two volumes treat in scores of different articles, written between 1848 and 1879, on subjects connected with public hygiene, reform of medicine, epidemics and endemics, statistics of morbidity and mortality, hospitals, military medicine, cleaning of cities, school hygiene, criminal law, and forensic medicine.

However, when Virchow's name is mentioned, it is customary to think of him first as a great discoverer in the field of pathological anatomy.

Pathological anatomy is that part of pathology which treats of the origin, development, and nature of such changes in the solid and liquid parts of the body as constitute disease. The changes most thoroughly and profoundly studied were, in the begin-

ning, the gross and macroscopical, afterward the morphological ones, inclusive or exclusive of pathological chemistry, which is still younger than pathological anatomy proper. If I speak of origin, development, and nature of changes, I characterize the science as it is to-day. For neither Theophil Bonetus, who in 1675 collected the three thousand post-mortem examinations recorded for two thousand years past, nor Morgagni in his celebrated book on "The Seats and Causes of Diseases studied Anatomically" (1761), nor Bichat (1801) with his attempts at studying the diseased tissues, nor Aloys Vetter (1803) in his "Aphorisms from Pathological Anatomy," nor the first prosector, Biermayer, of the Allgemeine Krankenhaus in Vienna—founded by Emperor Joseph, *Saluti et Solatio*—nor his successor Wagner, considered anything but the completed changes of the organs. Wagner's successor in the place, which was founded on the 26th of June, 1812, was Carl Rokitansky.

To estimate at its full value the influence exerted by *him*, let us consider the facilities for diagnosis at those times by choosing an example from the large class of fevers. There were catarrhal fevers, with the symptoms of a slight catarrh prevailing; when muscles or joints ached, the fever was catarrho-rheumatic or rheumatic; when the gastric symptoms prevailed, it was gastro-catarrhal or gastro-rheumatic; with a yellow tongue and pain in the right epigastrium, it was bilious, or gastro-bilious, or bilious-rheumatic; with prevailing headache or delirium, it was gastric-nervous or bilio-nervous-rheumatic. There was no end of complication of

terms, just as little as there can be an end to the complication of symptoms. That was a time in which nothing better could be done. Most diseases were estimated from the nature of either the subjective or the most superficial objective symptoms of the pulse, the tongue, etc. It was exactly the period in which even the Hahnemannian system, school, sect, was just as easy of existence as any other system, school, sect, or self-styled scientific silliness. Rokitansky's great function was to find, as Andral had done shortly before him—to proclaim louder and more effectually than Andral ever succeeded in doing—that disease meant a change of structure and not of sensations and symptoms, and to point out, as Virchow happily expresses it, “a number of natural and easily recognizable types of disease.” If I call your attention, by a simple example, to typhoid fever, which Rokitansky installed as an anatomical entity, instead of the nervous, and bilio-nervous, and gastric, and what-not fevers, you have at once an instance of the blessing conveyed by one great man on both the anatomist and the physician. He proved that the most various symptoms can depend on the very same or similar anatomical changes, and could prove that sometimes the same or similar symptoms might depend on different conditions. Thus, the similarity of many symptoms in typhoid fever and acute tuberculosis gave rise to many errors, many studies, until Skoda's skill and genius solved the grave problem of differential diagnosis. To treat of Rokitansky's merits fully is not appropriate to-night. His place in the history of medicine is secure. But still he will not

appear—nobody will—as the last and unimpeachable judge in all matters anatomical and histological. On the contrary, his labors, as laid down in the first volume of his “Pathological Anatomy,” were undertaken, and in part finished, during the time in which Schwann first found all animal tissue to consist of cells. Thus the histology even in his *second* volume (1846) is of inferior character. This is the first defect. His second error and that of his school is the assumption of humoral pathology in a somewhat new shape. The mixture (crasis) of the blood, engendered by the chemical examination of the blood by French authors, such as Andral and Gavarret, was considered the main cause of many general, constitutional, or feverish diseases. The third great mistake of Rokitansky was this, that he felt convinced, and acted upon the conviction, that *his* special branch of pathology contained everything worth knowing in medicine. Remember, however, *he* lived in the dissecting room; remember that from November 1st, 1817, to October 8th, 1878, seventy thousand and eighty-seven post-mortem examinations were recorded in Vienna. If you do, you will understand, and, though you deplore it, pardon the one-sidedness with which he considered that his efforts were everything required, not only for the theory, but for the practice of medicine. He found organs destroyed, or changed to such an extent that life was incompatible with that destruction or those changes. Where was the remedy which could have restored to health the organ which had produced death? *Non possumus*—impossible. Thus he became the intellectual head of the so-called school of

Vienna, which, while it increased rapidly the anatomical knowledge and differential diagnosis of the conditions of diseased organs, threw up its hands in despair when the living patient clamored for relief and recovery.

Thus the three great defects or errors of Rokitansky and his school were: ignorance and regardlessness of histology, the clinging to humoral pathology, and the therapeutical nihilism originating in Vienna and infecting a large portion of the practitioners of the world. Let us now turn to Virchow to discover how he dealt with these defects, errors, and difficulties.

Before and about the time when Rokitansky worked and wrote, and Virchow prepared to commence his career, medical science in Germany was by no means independent and self-governing. There was no country in Europe in which observation and regard for facts, and facts only, was less esteemed than in Germany. England had enjoyed a predilection for pathological anatomy since John Hunter; Carswell had studied the elementary forms of morbid processes in his pathological anatomy (1833); physiologists such as Bell and Marshall Hall had added to the stock of positive knowledge; great physicians, such as Bright, Abercrombie, Hope, Williams, and afterward Stokes, enriched special fields of pathology. France lived through its most brilliant medical career. Never before, or after, have more illustrious, sober, and painstaking men worked in the same field with more success than those who sustained French medicine up to 1840 in its high rank. Bichat, Bayle, Dupuytren, Laennec,

Cruveilhier, Rostan, Chomel, Gendrin, Bretonneau, Andral, Louis, Billard, Piorry, Magendie, and many others placed French medical science far above the level of any other country. Meanwhile German medicine was controlled by what was called philosophy, and mainly by the so-called philosophy of Nature. The only great philosopher of the end of the eighteenth century was no longer appreciated or understood. Immanuel Kant, with his clear intellect, his unbiassed judgment, his mathematical training and scientific method, was forgotten or misinterpreted. One hundred years ago this year, his "Criticism of Pure Reason" made its appearance. This very year the orthodox churches of all sorts of denominations have claimed this scion of natural facts, of mathematical problems, this personification of pure reason and unfettered logic, as their own, in this very city of ours. We need not wonder, then, that neither Fichte, nor Schelling, nor Hegel, nor even Hegel's greatest pupil, Feuerbach, followed the road opened by the unsophisticated, shrewd, far-seeing, untrammelled genius of Kant. Under the influence of the German philosophy of that whole period, after Kant, which has been so unintelligible that it was called profound, and so abstruse that it has procured for the whole German nation the title of the people of thinkers, everything in medicine not accepted because it was old and traditional was a matter of speculation *a priori* only. The bases of speculation were premises construed by reasoning not founded on facts; by theories not built on experience, far less on experimentation. Both facts and experimentation

were claimed by Virchow as the only admissible foundations of scientific medicine, no matter how long it would take to collect them or to establish it. At the same time he was perfectly well aware that the literature of the last two thousand years contained a great many available points ; nobody ever was more honest in collecting material and giving credit. Every one of his books, orations, speeches, essays, lectures, teems with literature carefully collected and critically judged, and proves his appreciation of the necessity of historical studies. As the organism of the human body cannot be understood without the knowledge of its gradual development, thus the present condition of medicine, or the present condition of a doctrine, cannot be appreciated without the history of the labors spent on its gradual completion, no matter whether it was obtained by uniform progress, or, what happens much more frequently, by alternations of progress and retarding relapses. For the history of human progress is, in part, the history of errors.

The young student cannot possibly imagine, without historical studies, the condition of our knowledge as late as thirty or forty years ago. Many of the distinguished men here assembled, many of your celebrated teachers on whose lips hang your eager eyes, and whose every word is cautiously remembered by willing ears, lived and studied in a time when capillaries were not known to be true vessels with a wall of their own ; when the distribution of the peripheric nerves was not even believed by the most poetical imaginations ;

when the action of organic muscular fibres, with its universal influence on the function of every organ, was not deemed a possibility, and trophic nerves were not even dreamed of.

The first opposition to the influence on medicine of the so-called philosophy of nature was made by "rational" medicine and the "physiological" school of medicine. It was formed by such learned and ingenious men as Wunderlich and Roser; it controlled the minds and influenced the action of many good men in the profession a number of years. At that time, and long after, pathology was acknowledged as only a part of physiology. At all events, it had no independence of its own. Pathology was an appendage of the natural sciences then recognized. *The emancipation of pathology*, its rise into the number of independent sciences, with, *in its turn*, its fertilization of anatomy and physiology, dates from April, 1847, when Virchow wrote on the *standpoints in scientific medicine* in the first volume of the *Archiv for Pathological Anatomy and Physiology and for Clinical Medicine*. At that time he wrote as follows :

"We ought not to deceive ourselves or each other in regard to the present condition of medical science. Unmistakably, medical men are sick of the large number of new hypothetical systems which are thrown aside as rubbish, only to be replaced by similar ones. We shall soon perceive that observation and experiments only have a permanent value. Then, not as the outgrowth of personal *enthusiasm*, but as the result of the labors of

many close investigators, pathological physiology will find its sphere. It will prove the fortress of scientific medicine, the outworks of which are pathological anatomy and clinical research."

Five years afterward he could say: "The scientific method of medical research is firmly established. It is not my merit to have discovered it. Without me it would have been found, and the new trail would have been followed. But I trust that the battle against the existing mixture of arbitrary rationalism and gross empiricism, fought by the *Archiv*, in which I aided by the introduction of genetic investigation, must have contributed much in procuring new aims for pathology."

You remember that, but little more than forty years ago, Schleiden discovered the cell to be the elementary basis of the vegetable tissue. Schwann recognized the same element as the foundation of the structure of all animal tissues. A long series of observations and experiments convinced Virchow of the continuous propagation and proliferation of cells within the individual. After five years of hesitation he published the first preparation for, or introduction to, his cellular pathology, in the fourth volume of his *Archiv*, and another contribution to the same, three years afterward, in the eighth volume.

He proved, and all our experience proves, that life requires a special formation to manifest itself, and certain conglomerates of substance. These conglomerates are the cells and their compounds. Like the individual in its totality, the cell in its turn is the physical body with which the action of

mechanical substance is connected, and within which the latter can retain its functions which alone justify the name of "life." In the normal state of this conglomerate it is mechanical substance which acts, and acts only on chemical and physical principles.

The pathological process within the elements, according to cellular pathology, is as follows: A living cell is acted upon by something outside. The latter works a mechanical or chemical change in the cell. This mechanical or chemical change is disorder or disease. If an action or reaction take place in the cell through that cause, the change is called irritation, the cause irritant. If no reaction take place there is a mere lesion, or perhaps a paralysis. The same cause may act as either an irritant or a simple lesion, or be a source of paralysis. The difference of the results depends on a difference in the condition of different cells. This difference in the condition of the cell is, or rather forms, its predisposition.

Cellular pathology was intended to demonstrate the cellular nature of all vital processes, both the physiological and pathological. Thus, in contradistinction to the humoral and "solidar" (or neuristic) theories handed down from almost prehistoric times, the unity of life in everything organic was claimed as a demonstrable fact, and the minute mechanics and chemistry of the cell were placed in victorious opposition to the course of explanations based on the mechanics and chemistry of the compound mass. With the improved instruments, and by means of the newly established principle, "all

medicine got nearer the natural processes by at least three hundred times" (Virchow).

All medicine; for it is a peculiarity in all of Virchow's researches and conclusions that none is without its immediate results on the theory and practice of medicine, even on diagnosis.

Diagnostic powers have increased with the growth of positive knowledge. Diseases become recognized as local anomalies in the same degree that the old humoral pathology, first objected to by Vesal and Paracelsus, was finally undermined in its position as the general explainer of physical disorders. One hundred years ago the diagnosis of most local diseases was a very imperfect one. A fever with dyspnoea, with cough or without it, was a thoracic fever—a pulmonary fever. When Morgagni had published his "Seat and Causes of Diseases," and Laennec and Dupuytren had developed more proficient means of diagnosis, the disease was sought for and found in organs—even in parts of organs. A pleurisy was diagnosticated from a pneumonia, a pneumonia of the right from that of the left side, of the upper from that of the lower lobes. Bichat, though he could not prove it, yet insisted even upon the necessity of diagnostivating the diseases of the several constituent tissues.

Virchow's cellular pathology is claimed by him as the consistent execution of the principles and postulates of his predecessors. The localization of disease is taken as a necessity. It is looked for in the smallest composing elements—the cells, for there is no organ but consists of cells or cell production. Blastoderma, protoplasma, are not characterized as some-

thing independent, as organisms by themselves, no matter whether they be considered to be some changed condition of the blood, as the older writers would have it, or the shapeless, amorphous mass of the recent authors. The smallest organism we know of, and which has an independent action and a life of its own, changing under the influence of external irritants, is the cell. To fix the disease in a cell, or a group of cells, is the finest localization possible. As a rule we have to deal with a group of cells; like the chemist, who works with and on a group of atoms.

But not only does the practitioner enjoy the benefit of a diagnosis and prognosis based upon the knowledge of local organic alterations, but his therapeutics also have undergone important changes. They, again, are mostly due to more correct observations, and mainly to the experimental method which has been generally adopted these ten or fifteen years, in the study of the effects of medicines on the animal system or organs or tissues. Therapeutics have become more and more local. The hypodermic method has taught us that the local effect of a narcotic is so much more distinct when the remedy is applied to the affected part. Strychnia injected into a paralyzed limb, a deficient sphincter ani, or near an anæmic amblyopic retina, is much more powerful than when given internally. Relations between certain organs and certain remedies have been discovered. Quinine has been found to affect white blood corpuscles and blood-vessel nerves; ergotin has its specific action on unstriped muscular fibres; atropia on the intestinal ganglia and on the

iris ; eserine, calabar, are justly credited with local effects. We have remedies with specific effects on the muscle, such as salicylic acid ; on the nerves, on the brain or spinal cord ; we use the faradic and continuous currents for local purposes ; influence local changes, pains, anomalous functions by cold, heat, moisture, contra-irritants ; even remedies known for their general effects alone are used for the purpose of reaching local changes. For not only is mercurial plaster used for the purpose of dissolving local indurations, mercury is given internally for the purpose of influencing local gummata ; iodine in order to remove local periosteal swellings or chronic local adenitis. By becoming experimental, therapeutics have become sound, not only for the benefit and in the interest of diseases, but also of surgical interferences. These have never been rendered so safe and innocuous by all the accumulated experience of justly celebrated operators, of justly condemned wars, as by the theoretical reasoning of a living English surgeon, whose name is on the blessing lips of every modern physician.

But cellular pathology does not claim to be a *system* which contains everything, *but a principle*. Thus far every new discovery of pathological facts has found a ready explanation by it and its methods. The changes worked in and by white blood cells, the transmutation of epithelial cells into benign results or malignant growths, the influences, real or imaginary, worked by bacteria, have but strengthened its plausibility. If there be a pathological entity, this entity is the cells in a state of disease. Despite the multifariousness of

the vital processes in different organs, life is—no matter whether the cell group, the organ, the individual, well or sick, are concerned—one and the same, and depending on the same and uniform action of the independent cell.*

The three volumes on *morbid tumors*, published between 1863 and 1867, are a work which might have filled the lifetime of a great student and thorough pathologist, and perpetuated his name in the annals of medicine. Never before was sarcoma treated of so extensively and monographically. Never before was the whole literature of the subject searched with so much knowledge and conscientiousness. The etiology, development, and prognosis of morbid tumors were at last intelligibly discussed on the principles of cellular pathology, while even therapeutics were not neglected. The chapters on scrofulosis, tuberculosis, and syphilis, though the subjects were treated of in many, perhaps too many, publications previously, exhibit new researches, new results on every page. The congenital deformities are always described in relation to the embryonic development of the parts, partly as arrests of development, partly as the results of inflammatory action. And not the least beauty of the great work is the fact that the material belonging to medicine and surgery, superficial and deep-seated organs, ophthalmology, dermatology, and gynæcology, is treated of under common and uniform points of view. Thus, as

* See Virchow on the "Essence and Causes of Disease," in his *Archiv*, vol. lxxix.

Virchow has proclaimed the unity of life under the most manifold manifestations, he facilitates the knowledge that, after all, the specializing tendencies of modern medicine, natural and necessary though they be to a certain extent, admit of correction and limitation.

The "Investigations on the Development of the Basis Cranii in its Healthy and Morbid Condition, and its Influence on the Shape of the Skull, the Formation of the Face, and the Structure of the Brain" (Berlin, 1857) are, as it were, a continuation of the essays alluded to among the contents of the "Collection of Treatises." They have been fruitful for anatomy, psychology, and pathology. The two works have yielded the anatomical basis of my own paper on the pathological and diagnostic importance of the premature closure of the cranial sutures and fontanelle (1858 and 1859) and of many more important additions to the literature of science. For himself these studies have been of the greatest importance also. On the base created by him—his main predecessors in this field being Leuret and Gratiolet, and Huschke—he has merged into his anthropological studies, foremost among which is his book on "Some Cranial Peculiarities of Lower Human Races" (1875) and "Contributions to the Physical Anthropology of the Germans" (1876). Before these publications, however, saw the light, his cranial studies led him into palæontology and archæology. From the beginning of the existence of the Anthropological and Archæological Society of Germany he was a member—in the second year its president. Without being able to

follow him in all these studies, I lay stress only on the fact that they are by no means adverse or foreign to strictly anatomical and medical studies. The connecting link is sufficiently clear, though the literary notes I have given must unfortunately be but too short. His paper on prehistoric tombs, and many others, in part published in an anthropological journal, prove at the same time his varied interests and his mental powers, enabling him to combine such a variety of studies and occupations.

Still, his main labors have been spent on pathology and subjects connected with pathological anatomy. His papers on thrombosis and embolism alone would have immortalized him. They acted like a new revelation, by which a host of pathological occurrences and processes, formerly not understood, became intelligible.

The number of his other contributions to pathology is large. I remind you of his investigations on caseous and tubercular degeneration, and on diphtheria. What our Dr. Billings lately said in his London discourse is certainly true. For pathology we do look to Germany—he might well have said, to Virchow and his pupils. Never can too much credit be given to him—never ought he to have been compelled to express himself as follows :

“For years,” he said lately, “I became accustomed to the fact that others utilize my labors. I complained of that in 1856, and have more reason now. Many pupils who learned the new results of my researches in my lectures have not always remained conscious of the source of their knowledge, and thus they have not always been in a condition

to give me due credit in their publications. I do not propose to attribute that to ill-will in every case. We all live in motion and turmoil, and are the recipients of much which, without recalling the giver, we consider our own. Whoever has gathered around himself many pupils through many years must expect that his own thoughts may return to him from afar" (Preface to *Ges. Abh.*, etc., Berlin, 1879).

The first university establishing a full chair of pathological anatomy in Germany—Vienna not counted—was Würzburg. There and in Berlin he taught hundreds and thousands, and educated the men who were to occupy the chairs of pathological anatomy in the other universities. Rudolph Mayer, Rindfleisch, Recklinghausen, Bezold, Cohnheim, Grove, Klebs, Ponfick, and many others owe him their opportunities and their places. Since, and through him, the appearance and working of German universities have greatly changed. Through this whole long period he has worked steadily, and always more efficiently than noisily. His not rushing into print with every little observation has now and then raised the doubts of some of his former pupils, who would be gladly considered his peers, whether he worked at all. This doubt has even been expressed publicly, and, in regard to some points, he has been attacked because of his alleged want of progressiveness and thoroughness. Such is the case, for instance, in regard to the modern parasite theories of infectious diseases, and to Darwinism. Let us inquire.

Berzelius and Liebig developed the theory of

chemical catalysis to such an extent that not only was organic chemistry enriched by it to a considerable degree, but the symptoms of infection (not, however, those of contagion) found a satisfactory explanation. Still, at that time, in 1854, Virchow's essay, in the first volume of his "Pathology and Therapeutics," on parasitic plants, gives sufficient proof of his interest in and knowledge of the subject. A special paper of his, in the ninth volume of his *Archiv*, in 1856, demonstrated the botanical nature and classification of some forms of parasites to which an important part in nosology was to be attributed. At that time it was when he invented and first used the term MYKOSIS, which has been generally accepted since.

Davaine in 1854, and Pollender in 1855, found in anthrax the parasite which has since been given the name of *Bacterium anthracis* Cohn. Brauell's papers on the same subject appeared in the eleventh and fourteenth volumes of the *Archiv*, and were the forerunners of an immense literature which has since, in the *Archiv*, other journals, and independent publications, assumed vast proportions. In Virchow's hospital division it was where Obermeier, in 1873, found the spirochæte in the blood of relapsing fever. Again, it was Virchow who, when travelling in Norway, at the request of the Swedish Government, for the purpose of studying lepra, insisted upon the necessity of paying more attention to the dietetic basis of the disease, particularly to the fish eaten in large quantities. He has been severely reproached for not finding the bacillus lepræ, which, after the preparatory labors of four

years, has been finally discovered by Armauer Hansen, twenty years afterward.* That very reproach proves that everybody expects everything of him, and sometimes too much. Now, the discovery of every sort of possible and impossible parasites is the regular order of the day, and has been for many years. On this side of the great water it has been Salisbury who has sharpened the appetite for numerous and uninterrupted discoveries of the kind. Every disease, every microscopic lens, every craving for notoriety, swelled the supply; endless was the number of new names, never was Greek dictionary more diligently consulted. Among the last diseases, in which Klebs and Cruvelli claim to have found vegetable parasites which at once are taken to be the very causes of the same diseases, are intermittent fever and rheumatism. Here, again, Virchow has been reproached for not publicly accepting the bacilli of malaria and rheumatism. The very men who insist upon Virchow's incompetency in regard to what they consider as the only basis of the nosology of infectious and epidemic or endemic disease, still appear to address every paper they write, every little observation they publish, to him. He is expected to repeat the experiments at once, appreciate and praise the results, and come to the same conclusions. If he does not, he is incompetent. One of his best known, but not best deserving, former pupils and assistants, is Klebs, but lately an essayist before one of the London Congress sections. He appears to have proved to his entire

* Archiv, vol. lxxix.

satisfaction that his poor master ought to be his attentive pupil. Among other novelties he has found that cellular pathology is incompatible with the new gospel of the parasite theory in regard to infectious diseases. Let us hear what Virchow himself has to say about this accusation (*Archiv*, vol. lxxix., page 209, 1880): "Klebs has placed the whole dispute on a wrong basis. Vegetable and animal parasites *are* among the causes of diseases. Their place is in *etiology*, and therefore it is easily conceived that, as Klebs expresses himself, they found no place in my cellular pathology. There it was not any more my domain to offer an extensive paper on parasites than it was to treat of traumatic injuries and corrosions. In my cellular pathology I meant to demonstrate the changes which take place in the elements of the organism in the general forms of disease. Thus I meant to build up a theory of the essentiality of disease. Specified causes were mentioned only as examples—for instance, intoxication—and, though but briefly alluded to, parasites have not been entirely overlooked. Cellular pathology never meant to be a general pathology. If that were the case, certainly etiology would have found its place in it without abridgment."

Virchow has often been blamed for reserving his opinion, or rather not expressing it at once in favor of those who fain would have availed themselves of his approval of their rapid strides in discovery and unprecedented quickness of conclusion. We are all probably in favor of judging slowly in regard to assertions which require confirmation. For to what extent hastiness, coupled with gentle ignorance, can

prove dangerous, Prof. Klebs has shown but lately. In a recent number of a European journal I find, under his name, the description of a cooking apparatus which is credited with keeping bacteria out of the milk which is to be boiled in it. Klebs is quite enthusiastic over it, because, as he asserts, now that bacteria can be kept out of cow's milk, no summer diarrhoea has a chance to develop itself. For summer diarrhoea is all at once, according to him, the result of millions of bacteria in the intestines of the babies, the said bacteria being the same which are found in the decomposing cow's milk. And how does he prove this sweeping assertion? Very simply indeed. While the babies had diarrhoea he found the bacteria in the fæces, and thus he demonstrates that the diarrhoea is the result, and the only one, of the presence of bacteria. If, however, the professor had examined the fæces of healthy babies he might have counted the same number of millions of bacteria. The wise omission of such an examination saves his theory. Thus, if it be true that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, I am afraid that a little ignorance is just as dangerous.

The parasite theory is not yet a scientific system. In most of its claims it is not yet sustained. Many alleged discoveries of characteristic disease germs have seen the light in a few years, and disappeared in utter darkness. In regard to the whole question, while anxiously and willingly waiting for further facts which would simplify the pathology of infectious and contagious diseases, I still maintain, as in the preface to my "Treatise on Diphtheria" (1880), the verdict "Not proven."

Another point which has been raised against Virchow is his hesitancy in accepting not only what has been called Darwinism, but at the same time the teachings and postulations of Darwin's followers and apostles.

As early as 1849, in his "Movement in Favor of Unity in Scientific Medicine," Virchow claimed the origin of life to be a mechanical necessity. In an oration delivered in 1858, a year before the publication of Darwin's "Origin of Species"—printed in a pamphlet containing "Four Orations on Life and Disease" (Berlin, 1862)—he pointed to the changeability and transmutability of species as a necessary basis for the mechanical theory of life. Thus, he was by no means unprepared for *Darwin's* theories. But he knew—and nobody knows it better than Darwin himself—that the transmutability of species, the battle for existence, the theory of selection, even the doctrine of inheritance, were by no means Minerva's springing from the head of Jupiter, unprepared and unexpected. For Goethe and Lamarck were not unknown, and the term self-preservation was a stock in trade of the biology of bygone times. And nobody knows better than Darwin and Virchow that hypotheses are not facts, problems not articles of creed, and the exaggerated generalizations of enthusiastic pupils not the outgrowths of superior minds. On the other hand, much of what was twenty years ago the fear and anxiety of many men and women has greatly settled down as established facts. Twenty years ago the pulpits teemed with attacks on Darwin and what was called his monkey-theories, mobs gathered to stone public

lecturers, and extra hells were heated to consume him and his followers. For did he not intend to annihilate the belief in everything that was sacred, even Judaism and Christianity themselves? Was not religion based on the certainty that the world was created five thousand and seven hundred years ago—some thousand years after they enjoyed established civilizations in China, the East Indies, and Egypt—and was it not known that the monkey was constructed on Friday, and man on Saturday?

Many, most of you, remember the time quite well—it has not passed away entirely—when strong expressions were used concerning and against the theories of Darwin and his pupils and collaborators. Many, however, are aware also that some of these pupils and collaborators fell into the same errors of expression and behavior we have to complain of in their opponents. Whoever was not with them totally, and in all their *conclusions*, was considered to be against them. And in this respect no illustrious man had to suffer more from the exaggerations of zealotism on the part of really scientific men than Virchow.

A number of public meetings of several of the annual congresses of German physicians and naturalists, mainly those of Munich and Cassel, were taken up with a dispute principally between Virchow on one side and Haeckel and Klebs on the other. It is mainly Haeckel to whom the popularization in Germany of Darwin's ideas and theories is due. Himself distinguished by original researches, and an enthusiastic scientist, imbued with the instinctive belief that science must fertilize

individual and public life, his sustaining Darwin and his theories has greatly contributed to making what has been called Darwinism the intellectual property of most educated Germans. But in one of his public speeches he insisted upon the theories on selection being admitted among the subjects to be taught in the public schools of the most elementary character. It was to this that Virchow objected, on the ground that only established facts and results, and not theories, should be taught in schools. To this objection it was due that he was overwhelmed with reproaches. It was said that the man was so taken up with work of all kinds that embryology and Darwinism were sealed books to him, and that he to whom—it was true—science owed so much, was to be pitied for his advancing age, which prevented his keeping up with his former pupils, who now stood on his shoulders enjoying a larger mental horizon. These attacks on the part of Haeckel, and mainly of Klebs, are not pleasant reading. There is more eagerness and bitterness in them than we desire to meet with in scientific productions and strifes, or have ever met with in any words penned by Virchow.

There is a peculiar undercurrent to this controversy which is but rarely visible on the surface, but at the same time is readily recognized by a careful observer. To understand it, it must be remembered that German higher education is mainly classic, and irrespective of religious or anti-religious views or tendencies. The latter certainly are in the majority. Statistics do not prove that in any country and among any people virtue, vice, and

crime depend upon the presence or absence of positive creeds, be they Judaism, Christianity, or any other form of belief ; but, among other influences, on the amount and nature of education and training. Even the anti-Semitic persecutions in modern Germany have their cause, not in the prevailing influence of the Christian religion, but in the absence of schools ; for it is a statistical fact that those Pomeranian and Mecklenburg districts in which Jews are killed and Jewish windows broken and stores robbed, are less supplied with schools, and can less boast of mastering the mysteries of reading and writing, than any other part of the land of Bismarck.

Thus it will be admitted that the mainly classic education and agnostic tendencies of the higher classes of Germans do not debar them from being good students, good men, and honest friends and enemies. But, after all, Hellenism and Latinism were human too, and Greeks and Romans hated and loved, scolded and praised, kicked and kissed, like people before and after them. There were zealots among them, too. Socrates was killed because he believed differently from other people, on the plea, however, that he subverted the State, as, two thousand years afterward, the Church burned a hundred thousand adversaries. Something reminding of that has occurred in the land of free thought and profound philosophy lately. Haeckel, the classic scholar, the thorough philosopher, the original worker, is aggrieved at Virchow's not seconding all his propositions, favoring all his plans, agreeing with all his opinions and methods. There

is one peculiar trait in Haeckel, too, which is rather uncommon in a German savant. His studies have been mainly in embryology and biology. His religious views are of a negative character. He believes that these ought to be strongly stated, contrary to those who think and write that creed, faiths, and religion have nothing to do with scientific researches. With these he differs. When his book on evolution carries him to the conclusion that there is no need of a personal God—just as Laplace said he did not require that hypothesis—he not only expresses that conclusion in strong words, but devotes a whole chapter to it. But others are of the opinion that the finding of truths and expounding them has nothing to do with the fighting of opinions and articles of faith, and that religious controversies must not form a part of scientific books. This opinion Virchow has shared all his life. More than thirty years ago (*Ges. Abh.*, page 6) he wrote as follows :

“Faith does not admit of a scientific discussion, for science and faith exclude each other. Not to such an extent, however, that one of them renders the other an impossibility, but in such a way that within the range of science there is no place for faith, and the latter can commence only where the former ends. It need not be denied that, if this boundary line be respected, faith *may* have actual objects. It is not, therefore, the domain of science to attack faith or its objects, but its duty is to mark and consolidate the present termination of knowledge.”

Such is his position this very day in regard to this

question, and thus it is that much of the bitterness of feeling which appears to be engendered by strong anti-religious feelings almost as much as it is known to have generated ferocious persecutions and atrocious wars of religion, has been spent on him. He has borne it placidly, but we have to be sorry for the fact that he could not be spared it. If there is anything in science, that something is its influence in elevating, refining, humanizing, and the scientist ought to be, and will be, the very apostle of humanism. As science clears the brain, so it ought to purify the heart. Knowledge, logic, reason, ought to go hand-in-hand with feeling, sympathy, and fellowship. Let me dismiss, then, the controversy, commenced in an evil hour by a man otherwise great and good, by again quoting Virchow, who has remained true to what he expressed more than thirty years ago in the following words (*Ges. Abh.*, page 7): "Humanism, in its true meaning, is no apotheosis of mankind—for that would be anthropomorphism—but the scientific knowledge of the manifold and various relations of the thoughtful individual man to the ever-changing world. *Its* base is the science of nature, its very expression anthropology. For that reason humanism is neither atheistic nor pantheistic, for in regard to everything beyond the reach of actual knowledge there is but one formula: *I do not know* (as Liebig said, the science of nature is modest). Humanism is neither spiritualistic nor materialistic, for to *it* constancy of force and constancy of matter are facts of equal significance, and the unity of man's nature is a settled conviction. It is neither grossly egotis

tic nor sentimentally self-sacrificing, for, while recognizing the claim of everybody else upon existence and full development, he must demand equal rights for himself."

The humanism so well described by him Virchow has lived up to. In his early political efforts, which necessitated his removal from Berlin to Würzburg, he showed his sympathy with the oppressed mass of the people; in his famous papers on the famine typhus in Silesia and in the Spessart he showed his appreciation of the necessity of radical changes in the position of the neglected and starving members of society. Thus, you observe that, while engaged in professional researches which, in regard to universality, novelty, and reforming power, are surpassed by those of none whose name is immortalized in the history of medicine, Virchow never ceased to feel that he did not only belong to abstract science, but to his people; and again, as his science has always a practical aim and result, so his political and social views have a practical bearing. He was born one of the people and a friend of the people. He need not turn politician; he was a politician born. We, in this our country, are often in danger of forgetting that at one time, at least, the most intelligent, wise, and pure men of this nation of ours were our foremost politicians. Men of courage, character, and genius guided the rising star of the Republic through the night of despair, and the ship of state through the storms of strife and battle. Without the controlling sympathy of the very best, the Constitution of the United States would not have seen the light, and

could not have been sustained to its approaching centennial anniversary. We have since descended, sometimes, to the fear that only a second-class intelligence and a third-rate morality make a successful and eager politician, losing sight of the fact that Aristotle already defined man as a "political being," and insisted upon the labor of all in the interest of all.

In many communities a politician is considered a man whose character is not above suspicion, morals doubtful, and social integrity shaky. If, however, there be any truth in this, the fault is neither in politics nor in the politician or officeholder, but in us who feel so indifferent about our own and public matters as to close our eyes when watching is required, and to bemoan the result of an election instead of once appearing at the polls. When we happen to find a man of genius and integrity in a high or low public office, we are more apt to wonder how he came there than to feel the necessity that our offices should be filled by just such men only. Virchow's example should teach, particularly young medical men, that thorough science and good citizenship do not exclude each other. Indeed, there is nobody so removed from the midst of his fellows, so absorbed by abstract studies, but has interests in common with the rest of mankind, and nobody so raised above the level of his kind but can and ought to contribute to the elevation of his nation or race by personal contact and the attendance to daily duties. These twenty-two years Virchow has been a member of the administration of the city of Berlin. In his place as an "alder-

man" he has given his attention to the minutiae of city government. A number of his papers, written within this period, treat of subjects of hygiene, drainage, canalization; and while they point to local necessities and improvements, they give the scientific reader copious material of general importance and new ideas. His regular re-election to the same place, his elevation to the vice-presidency of the board, prove two things: first, that his efforts in the direction of turning science into practice are appreciated by the population of his city; and secondly, that he is not tiring of keeping up his contact with his fellow-citizens, of feeling his obligation to the commonwealth, and acknowledging his duties to his neighbors; and that much, as the Scriptures have it, is demanded of the man to whom much is given.

But more. A man of his attainments can be made useful in a wider sphere; a man of his sense of responsibility will shoulder more important duties. Since 1862 he served in a constant succession of terms as a representative of the people of Berlin in the Prussian Lower House. In this capacity he acted as member of finance and other committees, always ready to work, to learn, and to teach.

However, to go into his history as a politician would require a review of Prussian and German politics. This may be said only, that, though he be not at all a brilliant speaker, his words are always listened to with attention, his wisdom is always honored, his courage and moderation are always admired. It is not necessary to add that he sides

with the party of liberal views and progressive tendencies, and is in constant opposition to the one man who, through nearly twenty years of oppressive measures, dissolution of parliaments, governing without the assent of the representatives of the people, sudden changes both of economical and ecclesiastical policy and party affiliations, brutal assaults on the rights of individuals, the freedom of the press, and the principles of the constitution, though he succeeded in throwing into the lap of the Prussian reigning family an addition of large territories and in gaining for Germany a partial unity, has done more than any German man in history to emasculate German politics and demoralize the public conscience. I am no prophet, but this I predict: when that man of iron and blood will have closed his career, no sorrowing fifty millions will drape their doors, as we did a week ago, and feel that every household has been bereaved, as we then felt. A seat in high politics will be vacant, but no place in the hearts of the people will need to be filled. Bismarck has not found a more persistent and conscientious adversary than Virchow through all his parliamentary career. In regard to the latter I will predict that among the German politicians who resisted to the utmost the lawlessness of absolutism, and claimed that law should be supreme, the rights of citizens respected, the officeholders know and live up to their duties, the constitution be carefully guarded and protected, and peace not rendered as expensive and exhausting as war, Virchow's name will, for all time, be mentioned among the first and wisest and purest.

Did time permit I would fain go into particulars : his contributions to the legislature on infectious animal diseases ; on fisheries ; his participation in the debates and legislation on the arbitrary expulsion of Jesuits ; of his introduction of the term “Kulturkampf”—battle for culture—in connection with the dissensions between Bismarck and the Pope, which commenced with the boast of the former that he would not go to Canossa, and ended with the victory of the latter four weeks ago ; his many lectures for workingmen’s societies ; his superintending, with Prof. Holtzendorff, the fortnightly publication of a number of series of popular lectures ; his supervising the erection of public hospitals and the first barracks ; his conducting the first sanitary train into France during the Franco-German war, and his serving as an officer in the army auxiliary societies centred in Berlin.*

When he first became noted in politics the admirers of his genius became anxious concerning the influence politics might exert on the rest of his labors. There were those who predicted that politics meant the closing of his scientific career, and others—not rarely those who owed him their education, first ideas, and positions—jealous of the great king’s powers, who supplied the cartmen with jobs while he was building—as Schiller has it—took it for granted that he could not even keep up with the rapid strides special branches of science were

* One of the latest cable news speaks of Virchow as one of the speakers in a public meeting held in memory of James A. Garfield.

making through their and others' efforts. But the facts point the other way. Since he almost filled the first volume of his *Archiv* with his introductory "On the Standpoints in Scientific Medicine," and his researches "On the Development of Cancer" and "On Pathological Pigments," and an "Essay on the Reform of Pathology and Therapeutics by Microscopical Investigations," almost no volume has appeared to which he has not himself contributed. Many of his papers are elaborate and lengthy, and would, if written by most others, according to the habit prevailing in Germany, have swelled the number of pamphlets and books published with independent title pages, instead of forming parts of journals. Gigantic work like that performed by him in his first twenty years cannot continue forever; one new era created cannot be replaced by another by one man. If he had done nothing since besides writing his occasional reviews and summaries, such as "Old and New Vitalism" (vol. ix.); "Our Programme" (vol. i.); "War and Science" (vol. li.); "On the Standpoints in Scientific Medicine" (vol. lxx., 1877, thirty years after his first article in the *Archiv*); "The Nature and Causes of Disease" (vol. lxxix.), he would have deserved the thanks of the medical world. That he has done more we know. Some remarks of his own in regard to the subject are found in the preface to his first volume on tumors, and are very characteristic. He says:

"The dates of many of my lectures will prove that even on those days on which important matters claimed the attention of Parliament I have attend-

ed to my duties as a teacher. To set at rest the anxiety of my friends, I will add that the silent and often unnoticed labor of a scientist requires more energy and greater effort than the activity of the politician, which is both noisier and more speedily appreciated. The latter has appeared to me often to be rather a recreation than otherwise."

Of such "recreations," as Virchow calls them, he has, however, more than one. His practice among the forlorn herdsmen of Asia Minor is an instance.

Schliemann, by whose modern witchcraft holy old Troy is just leaving its tomb, invited Virchow to aid him in his work of discovery of the buried city. He went—partly to aid, partly, as he says, to escape from overwhelming labors at home, only to be engrossed in just as hard work, though of a different nature. In regard to the latter, Schliemann's recent book on "Ilios" contains some very interesting material. But what has engaged my attention and interest most has been to observe the humanity and indefatigability displayed by the great man in the service of the poor and sick. To read of his constant practical exertions in behalf of the miserable population of Hissarlik; how he taught the aborigines the efficacy of chamomile and juniper, which grow about them, unnoticed and unused, in rare abundance; how a spring he laid open for archæological purposes has been called by them "the physician's well," and is believed to have beneficial powers; how he was, on leaving the neighborhood, loaded with flowers, the only thing they had and knew would please him, has charmed me intensely. To admire a great man for his professional labors, eagerly un-

dertaken and successfully carried out, is a great satisfaction to the scientific observer; to be able to love him, in addition, for his philanthropy and warm-heartedness, is a feast of the soul.

On this platform, and on the seats in front of me, there are masters of our profession, not a few known wherever medical science and art are appreciated, studied, and practised. There is, however, none among them but has learned from the great genius whose name I have so often mentioned in the course of this hour. There are practitioners here, learned, shrewd, successful; every one of them uses the terms invented, knows the theories proposed, by the same powerful mind. Those who are young have grown up under the shadow of this tree; those who are old have been taught by him to look through his eyes and follow his methods. Schools have been overturned by his efforts, science and scientific method reign supreme. The last dangerous doctrine of the crases of the blood, so long upheld by Rokitansky, belongs to the past. Pathology is, since and through Virchow, founded on the smallest organism—the cell—and is, as Huxley but recently proclaimed it, nothing but that branch of biology which treats of peculiar disorders of cellular life, or of the co-ordination of cell complexes, that give rise to every vital process. We cannot to-day read a medical book or monograph without Virchow's name being inscribed on many pages. When it is not mentioned, it is because the facts have become as self-understood, almost, as a mathematical axiom or an occurrence in history. There are hundreds of journal articles in our literature commencing with

the phrase, "Virchow says." Modern medicine without his name cannot be written. They belong together. Nevertheless, I repeat, his is not a school. His methods are simply scientific, based on facts and leading to facts. Schools are built on ingenious ideas, not based on facts and experiments. It is not probable, I cannot imagine, that after the schools of Broussais and Brown and Schönlein, and that of Vienna, there will be another one. Our school, the school of the future, is scientific medicine. The greatest glory of Virchow, for all time, is that he was too great to establish one, and too universal to compel us to *jurare in verba magistri*. All of us, old or young, knowingly and unknowingly, are his pupils. The young men who to-night enter upon the study of medicine will hardly be taught a chapter in pathology which does not exhibit the impress of his genius.

Was I right in presenting as an ideal pathologist this man to the old and young engaged in medicine, and particularly those here this evening? Virchow has done enough to immortalize his name by his researches and the progress medicine has made through him. His rank in the history of medicine is assured. Among archæologists, also, he ranks high. The Anthropological German Society made him president after the first year of its existence. Schliemann calls him to Troy to avail himself of his superior knowledge. Numerous discoveries among old tombs, and valuable essays, are due to him. His scientific mind and exact methods prove as successful in archæology as in pathology. Even purely historical researches, as those under-

taken of late on the battlefield of Fehrbellin, owe him their success.

His position in politics, his participation in all humane endeavors, I have alluded to. No longer is he to us only the man of pure science, but also the practical statesman and philanthropist. Moreover, he is the practitioner of medicine among the poor, like the best and noblest of us ; as also, for the rank and file of the practitioners of medicine, he is the model of a professional brother and colleague. He is one of the most assiduous and regular members of the local medical societies, participating in scientific discussions and serving the common interests of the profession. The same spirit of humanism and solidarity which presses him into the service of the city and country makes him an active associate of the medical community. Too often do we meet the contrary. Those who have risen and advanced—partly through their own efforts, partly, however, and not very rarely, through the favor of their fellows—are too apt to forget that they are but branches of the same tree. In our own midst we notice too frequently that those whose co-operation and example would make them the most desirable members, keep away from the societies of the county, State, and others. The individualism and egotism of the industrial period of the nineteenth century, so rife among the manufacturing and commercial classes, threaten to invade the medical profession to an undue extent. There is no man, however, who sacrifices more time and does more work to foster professional feeling and brotherhood than Virchow. Hardly any of the great

scientific national and international associations and congresses takes place without Virchow being present. No question arises, where universal knowledge and the weight of a great name are required, but his voice is heard. But lately, in London, he raised it in favor of protecting and saving the physiological experiment.

Both his universality and urbanity, as also his sense of justice, are of peculiar interest to us, the American profession. Many are the occasions on which he expressed his appreciation of the republican autonomy of the medical men in this country, of the efforts on the part of medical societies in behalf of the suppression of quackery, and also of the scientific results of American medical labor. Let me quote but one passage from an oration delivered on August 2d, 1874, "On the Progress of Military Medicine." Virchow says (page 6) :

"The French army lost in the Crimean war thirty-three per cent of its men—viz., 95,615. Of this number 10,240 were killed on the battlefields and about as many died of their wounds in the hospitals. More than 75,000 men died of infectious diseases. In the American Civil War 97,000 died of their wounds and 184,000 perished of infectious and other diseases. What a vast amount of pain and misery ! What an ocean of blood and tears ! And, besides, what a number of errors, mistakes, and prejudices ! It is not necessary to now enumerate the long list of blunders and sins. They are so well known as to serve in the future as warning examples.

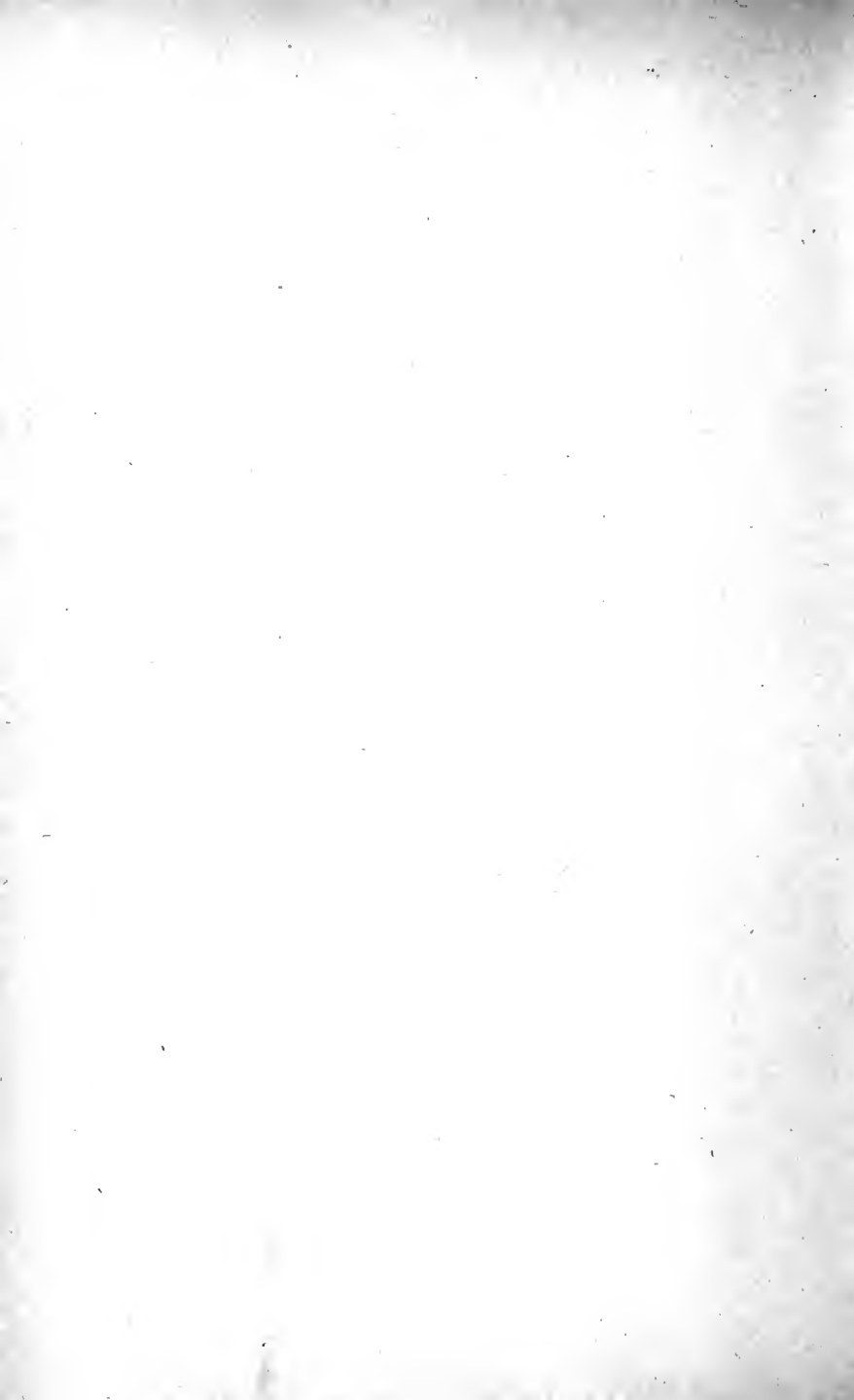
"Let me say here that it was not misfortune

alone that showed where the cause of the evil was and then provided aid. If the French learned little or nothing in the Crimea, and the Americans so much in their Civil War as to create a new era in military medicine, the explanation is not to be sought for in the immensity of misfortune and misery undergone by the Americans, for they did not suffer any more than the French did in the Crimea. The explanation is in the critical and thoroughly scientific spirit, the clear perception, the sound and practical common sense which penetrated gradually every part of the American military administration, and which, with the astounding co-operation of an entire nation, accomplished more humane results than any great war ever produced before. Whoever studies the copious publications of the medical staff of the American army must again and again be astonished at the vast experience collected in them. Absolute accuracy of details, the most painstaking statistics, acquaintance with all branches of medical learning, and a comprehensive style, are united in them for the purpose of collecting and preserving, in the interest of the present and future generations, the new knowledge so dearly bought."

So says Virchow, and well may we be proud of his opinions thus expressed.

Thus we have in him a man who has done more for pathology than any single dead or living man. He has been foremost in raising, when the time was ripe for it, medicine to the dignity of a science with purely scientific methods. He has served his country as he did science, and humanity as he has

his country. Was I right in speaking of him in the first hour of your medical studies, young men, as the ideal of a medical man, and a man? There is but one thing I have to add. It is this: That, as a rule, biographies are given and held up to admiration and imitation when great men have long completed their labors with their lives. Let us rejoice that Virchow's biography is not completed yet, and that he will, I hope, long live to contribute to medical science as your teacher and the teacher of your teachers.



INAUGURAL ADDRESS

DELIVERED FEBRUARY 7TH, 1882, AT THE OPENING
OF THE SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF
THE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE STATE
OF NEW YORK.

Mr. Vice-President, Members, and Delegates.

THE third quarter of our first century is just closing. Thus our annual meeting of to-day is one of unusual interest. The history of these seventy-five years, comprising almost the whole life of the Republic, and also the greatest possible changes in the development of medical science, is of vast importance. At the time when this society was formed, Bichat first thought of establishing on a sound basis a pathology of the tissues; in this third quarter, cellular pathology, though open to further evolution, reigns supreme. Those times were still the periods of systems and schools; ours has succeeded in establishing scientific medicine on the sound foundation of close observation of the histological elements and of experiment. This society, though we cannot boast of revolutionizing medical thought, has participated in the general progress; besides, the last decades have produced many original ideas, useful observations and much learning, and provided for American medical literature an honorable position. This honorable and honored position is not due to a particular class of men, though it be true

that in modern times a large number of those who have given unusual splendor to the American name are connected with medical schools as teachers of special branches. But when medical schools were but few it was in the profession at large that the men of learning, progress, and influence were found. Even to-day, fortunately, this condition of things is not entirely changed; and the experience of a former time in Europe has in part repeated itself with us here. In all of the eighteenth century it was not the professors but the practitioners who improved medical science.

It is fortunate for us that such is the case. Its increasing influence and power this Society owes mainly to those who never presided in a lecture room. For it is a fact that we, the delegates of the county societies mainly, and the very representatives of the profession, have had to rely less on the co-operation of the schools than on our own resources. It is true that our meetings take place in the midst of the college lecture terms, but there is no professor who could not spare us a day or two, and enjoy an audience of peers for once in place of descending to pupils forever. Besides, there is no country in the world but ours in which the professor and the practitioner are so near kin. The professor was or is, almost in every case, a practitioner, and is selected from the ranks of the profession. Still more, "*noblesse oblige*." Those on the heights may well come amongst us. They will find eager listeners and always be welcome. Moreover, many of the interests of the practitioner and the college teacher are identical. As far as the colleges are

concerned, it is true that the progress of medical education is greatly due to their labors; but again it is true that not long since a celebrated college publicly rescinded its own measures taken in the interest of a better preliminary education on the part of the matriculants. It is, however, a glorious fact in the history of the profession at large that almost no year has elapsed without the discussion of proper measures for the advancement of medical education. This fact is in accordance with all our Republican habits and institutions which stimulate the masses into action in behalf of the general good. The consciousness of the necessity of advancement has certainly rooted first in the profession at large, and not a few of the colleges have consciously or unconsciously obeyed the requirements and dictates of public opinion, which is getting stronger and more elevated from day to day. In that respect it is with intense gratification that I learned of the resolution of the Medical Society of Oswego County excluding from the office of any of their members such as are desirous to commence the study of medicine without having first obtained a fair preliminary education, and that I am permitted to publicly recognize my appreciation of their action in the composition of the most important amongst the temporary committees of this Society.

* In regard to the colleges, it is but too well known that their requirements for graduation are certainly not always equally strict. We need not inquire into the reasons for this inequality of level, be they pecuniary, intellectual, or other. But the fact is recognized, and nobody is more sorry for it than

the profession. In the interest of both the public and the profession, medical education ought to be of the most advanced kind, and the license to practise ought not to be too easily obtained. Thus the profession has for many years insisted upon a change in the law which licenses practitioners of medicine. Perhaps it cannot be proven that any medical school ever opposed the establishment of a State Board of Examination, which alone might be authorized to convey the license to practise, the right of the colleges to confer diplomas notwithstanding. If they ever did, it is not probable that any college would now oppose any such movement, which I hope will be set on foot and result in the Legislature passing a proper law. For the good colleges would not be afraid of their graduates not passing the State Board, and no college would be willing to thwart the movement for fear lest its unwillingness to compete might be recognized as, or alleged to be, the result of incompetency.

The law of 1872, establishing a State Board of Examination, became inefficient in consequence of a clause, added by some one at the eleventh hour, necessitating the mixing up of our intentions and interests with those of the homœopaths. I do not say that I believe that any ill-will or malice distorted the proposed bill, but the fact was really this, that at that time we were less inclined than many of us appear to be to-day to go hand-in-hand with those with whom no tie of fellowship appeared to unite us but the sacred name of "physician." It is claimed by many that a co-operation with the homœopaths for the purpose of arranging State

examinations would not be out of place, in the same degree as it certainly was eight years ago, at the present time.

It is generally asserted by many that there are good reasons for abolishing the boundaries between the several classes of medical men altogether. I do not speak of schools of medical men, for modern medicine is not divided into schools. The homœopaths claim that they do not differ from us any longer, do not mean to differ from us, as formerly they did and proudly claimed to do. If we have reason to believe, not only that medical science is one and indivisible, and based on logic and experimentation, but that we, the profession of the State of New York, are sufficiently imbued with that spirit of logic and experimental science characteristic of modern medicine, we may overlook differences, and meet with a spirit of reconciliation those who do not encounter us any more, so they say themselves, with the dicta of a school or a sect, but who claim that each individual man amongst them stands on his own feet and does his own thinking. A crowd of men facing the profession with the battle cry of "*similia similibus*" and "no quarter," exclude themselves and cannot expect kind treatment at our hands. When the ranks, however, are dissolved, and no *esprit de corps* makes them raise the flag of hostility, and, instead of a fighting army under orders, men come into your camp for reconciliation and a parley, the case is different.

There is that other consideration. We are not the only class of what the State calls "lawfully qualified practitioners." It is in our interest, and has

always been the effort of the professional men of the State, to better the condition of the profession and the public by the elevation of the standard of education. It is desirable that no part of the medical practitioners should be excluded from the benefits of such efforts or from co-operation in that direction. It is more than expedient, it is absolutely necessary, that in many steps to be taken before the Legislature of the State we should be in full concord with those who share with us the honor of being called lawful practitioners. Whatever you will decide, I know it will be done with deliberation and wisdom. Whatever your decision will be, I shall be the first to obey it, and hope that whatever laws we shall have, they will not be enforced on the young and powerless only, and broken by the mighty and independent. In that hope I am quite prepared to submit to the reports and recommendations of your committees on legislation and on the revision of the code of ethics. I abstain, therefore, from further remarks on that theme.

In accordance with the interest this Society has always taken in all matters of public hygiene and welfare, I have a word to say in regard to some contagious diseases devastating both the large cities and the country. It is certain that both scarlatina and diphtheria are contagious. It is also certain that the possibility and probability of contagion extends over the whole duration of the disease, and is enhanced by the accumulation of the poison produced by the accumulation of cases. It is also certain that without thorough disinfection, mainly by sulphurous acid, the poison is not destroyed and will

remain active. It is just as certain that when you enter a room full of healthy and boisterous children playing around the bed of one of them stricken with a bad form of diphtheria and scarlatina, a goodly percentage will be dead within a week or two ; it is reasonably certain that the immediate removal of the one who is sick, or of those who are well, would improve the chances of the first, and probably save all. It is also certain that a case of diphtheria in comfortable quarters in a well-to-do family will infect its clothing, bedding, and all surroundings ; it may get better—have another attack and one more serious—may get well—will be taken again still more seriously than before, and will not be checked on its road to destruction except by removal from its quarters replete with comforts, poison, and death. Several such cases I know to have been saved by their removal to a proper isolating room in a public institution in the city. Every one of you has seen those who have been or could have been saved by removal and strict isolation, aside from those who live in an infected, unclean, reeking neighborhood. The mortality from scarlatina and diphtheria in the large cities is fearful. The complication of the two scourges has increased the danger attending them. Not desiring, however, to discuss this subject, with which you are but too familiar, any further, I refer you to an occurrence in New York City which resulted in the following letter of the President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, to the Mayor of New York, part of which is here read :

“Very recently this society was called upon to

remove certain children from the infant asylum, No. 21 University place, in this city, where upon examination it appeared that there were over eighty children of tender years in the same building with cases of scarlet fever, diphtheria, whooping cough, and subsequently of measles. The society immediately invited the attention of the Board of Health thereto, with a view to the immediate removal of the children afflicted with these contagious diseases, but received this astounding statement from the Board :

“ Our Reception Hospital is the only place we at present have for the care of such cases. The Reception Hospital was built, not for continuous occupancy, but merely as a place where cases of contagious disease may have shelter and be made comfortable while waiting for the arrival of the boat to convey them to the island. Within the past year the buildings on the island were so crowded with cases of small-pox, typhus, and typhoid fever that we have there no room for scarlet fever and diphtheria. Therefore we have been compelled to take such cases as have been forced upon us, and give them the best care we could at the Reception Hospital, though always at the risk of their taking some other disease. . . . Our facilities for the care of such cases are so limited that we are often greatly embarrassed, being compelled frequently to refuse patients admission for want of room, greatly to our own annoyance as well as to that of the patients’ friends.”

I submit to you, delegates and permanent members of the Medical Society of the State, the above

remarks, without any additional ornamentation, without an attempt at oratorical pleading, as a matter to be carefully considered. The large cities require a place, or places, for the isolation and treatment of cases of scarlatina and diphtheria. Not only the tenement population, but the rich also, are in need of them. A hospital of the kind could be made partly a self-sustaining institution, although the necessity of providing a room for every single case and a numerous supply of good nurses, the extra work of constant disinfection, etc., would render a hospital of that kind expensive.

I can state that my suggestion has not been considered utopian by some with whom I have conversed on the subject. Pecuniary support has been offered in several instances without my asking, and the support of the President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was readily promised. But while all this is gratefully remembered by me, I know that the object in view will be more readily accomplished if this great and influential body will lend its support. I hope that a motion will prevail to suggest the necessity of establishing hospitals for the treatment of diphtheria and scarlatina within the limits of the large cities. The scientific opinion of this Society, when publicly and solemnly expressed, will contribute much to allay the fears of the community in regard to any alleged danger resulting from the proximity of such institutions, and to prove the necessity of avoiding the fatal mistake of insisting upon the removal of such patients to a distant hospital.

The last subject to which I desire to direct your attention is the danger to life and limb of the factory children. The number of children employed in factories is increasing yearly, and not only accidents, but permanent diseases and deformities increase at a much higher rate. If you so order, I shall present to your Committee on Legislation the proofs I have collected and the reason for my desire that this Society should commit itself in behalf of a law to be passed by the Legislature for the purpose of protecting early childhood from factory work and factory influence. Bills of that class have passed the Legislatures of several States—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Ohio, Pennsylvania—but they are insufficient. A bill such as I should contemplate would comprise a few points of the following nature :

First. Children employed in factories should be under official supervision. In large cities the Boards of Health could be entrusted with this supervision. In England, France, Germany, and Austria it is the business of officers appointed for that special purpose.

Second. Before being admitted to factory work a child of legal age ought to be examined. Clorotic, anæmic, scrofulous, crippled, scorbutic, bronchitic, and phthisical children, and those under the normal size of their ages, must be excluded. Manufacturers and physicians will always differ on these points. The certificates of the latter ought to be conclusive.

Third. No night or Sunday work to be permitted.

Fourth. Some branches of work are to be forbidden entirely. There are some which are known to interfere with physical development, and others which are known to prove highly disastrous to childhood and adolescence for various reasons. These are mining, glass works, rag sorting, employment on mercury, lead, arsenic, iron and brick works, and match factories. According to Popper's researches, the number of deaths in young persons is very great in glove factories, amongst jewellers, printers and lithographers, waiters, turners, locksmiths, bookbinders; while gardeners, millers, coachmen, carpenters, butchers, brewers, varnishers, and bricklayers stand a better chance.

Fifth. The earliest age at which the young should be admitted to manufacturing employments ought to be fourteen. Up to the period of puberty the organism must not waste the energy required for the development of both body and mind. It is quite possible that the manufacturer has plenty of opportunities for the employment of those younger, but the community, the State, the welfare of the Republic, require energies which are not wasted, bodies which are not crippled, and souls and minds which are not entirely withered. The commonwealth has as much claim in that direction as it has in regard to compulsory education—compulsory in spite of ludicrous fanatics—and vaccination, and prohibitory or compulsory health regulations.

Finally, at the close of this introduction to your work, I beg of you the permission to venture upon a personal remark.

Twenty-eight years ago a young refugee from

European state prisons set foot on the hospitable shores of this continent. The homeless wanderer is to-day the proudest of your number, for a year ago this week you elected him to the most honorable and honored position the profession of this great State can fill. That I did not work for the attainment of this honor, your nominating committee of last year know ; that I did not expect it, I assure you ; that I hoped for it at some distant future, I admit ; that I deserved it for what services I may have rendered to either the profession or science, I cannot prove ; but that I meant to be worthy of it in the future, I know. You will be good enough to accept my earnest and sincere thanks for the honor you last year conferred upon me, the first foreign-born President of this Society, as far as I know ; the first, certainly, since the profession of the State counted amongst its members the great number of men deservedly known and appreciated in the State and far beyond its boundaries, even in the Eastern Hemisphere. For when Virchow speaks of the intellectual capital invested by Europeans in America, which returns to Europe with ample interest, he thinks of New York State amongst the first to be considered.

I trust that I know something of the profession in the different States and nations of Europe. I know there is no national profession with the same spirit of hospitality to both new men and new ideas, the same impartiality and absence of territorial narrow-mindedness, which is prevalent amongst the medical citizens of the United States. That may not be, and probably is not, a merit of ours.

For I think that those who are born and bred in a republican community, where every one is the peer of the other, respecting his neighbor as and because he respects himself, are more apt to also become conscientious citizens of the republic of letters and science. May that spirit remain intact and chaste, for the fourth quarter of this century and for centuries to come, in the life of the Medical Society of the State of New York !

PRESIDENT JACOBI'S INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

EDITORIAL IN THE ALBANY "ARGUS,"
FEBRUARY 8TH, 1882.

THE proceedings of the New York State Medical Society, now in session in this city, are likely to prove of importance if the propositions in the President's address be made a basis of action or recommendation. Those propositions will be found in another column. They are such as will generate a great deal of thought, and, with one exception, they concern the public as much as they do the profession, and the profession, in its character as a part of the public, as much as in any strictly scientific or associated capacity which can be predicated of it. President Jacobi advocates a higher standard of general and scholastic knowledge as a condition to entrance upon the study, or to authorization for the practice, of medicine. This is a matter which to the profession would have to be left to effect; but it ought to be sustained by the opinion of thoughtful men in all departments of labor. To increase the initial standard of the profession is to advance it on the whole line of its work in the world. That will increase the resources against disease and to repair accidents. Thereby the duration of life and the average of health and strength will be increased. Such a result will raise the value of a human being

as a factor of labor and production, and decrease his expensiveness, either as a dependant on others or as a subject or cause of waste. The interest of pride, honor, and achievement which the profession has in this is not more marked than the vital economical interest which society, as a whole, has in it.

Another suggestion of President Jacobi issues from the one already considered. In favoring a State Board of Medical Examiners, he notices the fact that the laws of New York recognize other classes of physicians, and he inquires concerning the wisdom or timeliness of the class of practitioners, here met, readjusting their relations "to all who bear the sacred name of physician." What consideration should be given to this subject Dr. Jacobi does not detail. The fact that State law makes some consideration necessary is brought out by him, as well as the other fact that the homœopathists maintain that they no longer either study or practise differently from others who give scientific attention to medicine and surgery. The certainty of eventual harmony on this subject is undoubtable. The period of it does not seem remote. Dr. Jacobi's words are notably conservative—yet suggestive.

Other propositions are to isolate scarlatina and diphtheria cases in hospitals exclusively for them, and to give each case a separate room and nurse, with provisions to secure disinfection simultaneously with treatment, and to legislate the subject of employing children in factories into sanitary control and under sanitary principles. These are matters of universal importance. With rare force and noble lucidity Dr. Jacobi makes them matters of

universal interest. We commend what he says to every home on which sorrow has laid its blistering hand, and to every heart which can feel for the sufferings of the poor and for the rights of the race to protect the children of the poor from exactions which startle by their contributions to the tables of mortality, or which entail on mankind a posterity of mental and physical decrepitude. On these points the address is at once convincing and pathetic in high measure. The few broad, masterful strokes with which the picture of the woes and wants of humanity, and the unfulfilled duties of medicine and of law, are flashed on the view, give a literary picture of Turner-esque power in its effect on the mind and the soul.

Dr. Jacobi's reputation and personality long ago made their impress upon his profession. His selection to stand among the honored names who have been presidents of the State Society was a tribute to its estate of worth, because of him, which the profession was wise in paying. He is the first foreign-born doctor to attain to the position. No better example of the type of capital, in talent and in character, which Europe has invested in this new land, could be found in the ranks of medicine in this State. His philanthropic ambition to signalize the meeting of the Society, under his administration, with work for the honor of his calling and for the help of humanity, is shared by all the enlightened minds over whose deliberations he presides. It will be seconded by all progressive and kindly opinion, outside or inside of the beneficent circles of medicine.



REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN, 1883.

THE Committee to co-operate with the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has the honor to report that the aid offered by the President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children to your Committee has led to very valuable results. We allude, first, to the following resolution contained in the report of this Society's Committee on the President's Address of last year, viz.:

Resolved, That this Society indorses, in the fullest extent, the sentiment expressed by the President in relation to the employment of children of tender age, or immature development, in factories and manufacturing establishments, and requests that the Committee on Legislation prepare a bill for passage by the Legislature which shall include the suggestions of the President.

According to your directions that bill was prepared, and the Committee on Legislation requested to bring it to the attention of both houses of the Legislature. For a long time, though it was handed in, nothing was done. When, however, active steps were taken, and the proper committee of the Senate, consisting of Mr. Koch and two other gentlemen, was requested to act, the interest of these

Senators was at once awakened, and within a short time the bill passed the Senate. It was too late, however, for passing it through the Assembly. And thus it was lost through an oversight, or a mistake, or an inexperience on our part, in spite of the warm interest taken in it by legislators who became acquainted with the bill, and the President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Mr. Elbridge T. Gerry.

That gentleman has again exhibited his appreciation of the action of this Society, and the suggestions contained in the President's address and the report, above quoted, of the Committee, by again bringing in, some weeks ago, the bill which I have read.

The necessity of passing this bill, which is now in the hands of the Hon. Thomas L. Grady of the Senate, and Hon. Theodore Roosevelt of the Assembly, or a similar one, and the eagerness with which a number of legislators interested themselves in its behalf, leave no doubt in the minds of your Committee that it can and will be passed in this year's session by both houses, and become a law. Still, it is desirable that your private and corporate influence should be brought to bear upon the greatest possible number of legislators in its favor.

Another resolution of the Committee on the President's Address was as follows :

Resolved, That from the extreme contagiousness of scarlet fever and diphtheria, a contagiousness which is probably limited to a restricted area, and not conveyed to any distance atmospherically, this Society favors the absolute isolation of such cases of

sickness, even in instances where every attainable luxury and comfort surrounds the patient, and expresses the urgent necessity for the erection of special hospitals for the care of the patients sick with these diseases ; and, further, that from the feeble dissemination of these poisons by the atmosphere, such hospitals may be erected with safety to others, even in thickly settled parts of the city.

In accordance with this resolution, and upon the directions and authority of this Society, the matter was brought up before the Society of the County of New York, first by a paper read by the Chairman of the Committee who has the privilege of now reporting ; and, secondly, by the following resolutions, signed by Drs. E. G. Janeway, D. B. St. John Roosa, Stephen Smith, Richard H. Derby, and Francis M. Weld, and adopted by the Society in its meeting of March 27th, 1882 :

Whereas, No hospitals exist on Manhattan Island proper at which cases of scarlet fever, measles, and diphtheria are received for treatment, but such as are sick with these diseases have to be transported at present to Blackwell's Island, and in the future will be sent to North Brothers' Island, if they, for any reason, cannot be accommodated where they reside, such a journey, to those sick with the above-mentioned diseases, being dangerous to the life and health of the invalid ; therefore be it resolved,

1. That it is the imperative duty of the proper authorities to set apart, from the lands belonging to the city, an appropriate place for the erection of a hospital or hospitals for persons sick with scarlet fever, measles, and diphtheria.

2. That this Society memorialize the Legislature to direct the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund of the City of New York to transfer to the care of the Board of Health of said city such lands situated on the river front of the East River as shall be declared by resolution of the Board of Health of said city a proper and suitable place for such hospitals, providing that the same shall be first approved in writing by the Mayor of said city.

3. That the proper authorities should appropriate sufficient funds for the erection and maintainance of such hospital or hospitals.

4. That the President of the Society, Dr. A. Jacobi, and the Chairman of the Committee on Hygiene, be appointed a Committee to urge on the parties before mentioned the speedy execution of this undertaking.

The history of the efforts of this Committee, consisting of Drs. F. R. Sturgis, E. G. Janeway, and A. Jacobi, is pleasant to report and to hear. They were energetically supported by the President and a member of the Board of Health, Prof. Chandler and Dr. Johnson, and again by the President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Mr. E. T. Gerry. They had several meetings with Mayor Grace, Comptroller Campbell, the Board of Apportionment, and the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund. The first-named officials received the Committee and its message very cordially indeed, and urged the claims of both the profession and humanity, as first set forth in and by this Society, upon their colleagues in the proper committees. The result is that a plot of ground, of 125 by 92 feet, has

been set aside for the purpose of erecting thereon a hospital or hospitals for the treatment of scarlatina and diphtheria, and that the sum of \$50,000 has been granted for that purpose. The architect of the Board of Health, Mr. Charles C. Haight, is engaged on the plans, which have to be carefully considered and matured, inasmuch as there is no model in the world to be copied or imitated. Thus, when your Committee reports progress it means more than an idle expression. This Society will be glad to learn that its desire to establish an institution for the treatment of contagious diseases is crowned with speedy success—a success which, besides other things, proves beyond a doubt that authorities and the public will allow themselves to be influenced and guided by the humane and wise efforts of those whose vocation it is to save individual lives and to protect the community at large.

It is true that the institution is not a large one. It is quite possible that forty, or at most fifty, beds will be the greatest possible capacity. But those who are convinced of its success, and such as are but willing to make the experiment, trust that this small hospital will be the first only of a number of others distributed over the whole city ; that there will be similar places not only for the poor but also for the rich, and that New York will soon be imitated by the other cities of the State. As a suggestion, which requires but little expense compared with a regular hospital, the following remarks may be considered in order. The hospital, as planned, necessitates a stay of from five to six weeks for every scarlet fever patient, if isolation and the prevention

of contagion are to be accomplished. As a rule, the last four weeks, or more, of these cases require but little special care, unless there be a complication with diphtheria or nephritis. An institution embracing large dormitories for a great number of children in convalescence, with a few nurses to superintend them, would allow all the space of the special hospital or hospitals to be reserved for the really and dangerously ill. Your Committee will not lose sight of the subject, and perhaps return to it in the future. It is possible that the attempt at establishing such convalescent hospitals for contagious diseases, which was planned in London under the auspices of Mr. Gladstone some months ago, will be followed with the success which it both promises and deserves.

GRUENDUNG DER DEUTSCHEN DISPENSARY.*

NEW YORK, 26. September 1856.

An den Redacteur der Criminal-Zeitung :

GEEHRTER HERR:—Ihr Blatt vom 26. September bringt eine Mittheilung und einen Leitartikel über die beabsichtigte Errichtung einer deutschen Dispensary in New York.

Der Leitartikel befürwortet die Errichtung eines oder mehrerer solcher wohlthätigen Institute, befürchtet aber, dass kleinliche Sonderinteressen auf dieses Werk der Wohlthätigkeit, hinderlich und verzögernd einwirken werden, da zwischen den Aerzten ein Streit darüber entstanden sei, und mit Erbitterung geführt werde.

Die Redaction Ihres Blattes hat diese Ansichten aus einer ihr von glaubwürdiger Seite zugegangenen, das Gepräge der Wahrheit tragenden Mittheilung gewonnen, deren erste Hälfte sie veröffentlicht.

Das von den Armenärzten der Deutschen Gesellschaft ernannte Dispensary-Committee war am Tage des Erscheinens der erwähnten Nummer eben versammelt, um, dem Auftrage ihrer Committenten entsprechend, nach Beschluss vom 13. d. M. die Antwort zu berathen, welche dem Verwaltungsrathe auf dessen Mittheilung zugestellt werden soll.

* Aus der New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung und Belletristischen Journal vom 3. October 1856.

So kam es, dass die erwähnten Artikel Ihres Blattes den Mitgliedern des Committeees zu gleicher Zeit bekannt wurden und sogleich in Erwägung gezogen werden konnten.

Sämmtliche Anwesende beschlossen einstimmig: "Das Committee, zur Förderung der Dispensary aufgestellt, erblickt in der Veröffentlichung jener Mittheilung, in ihrer gegebenen Form und Art und im gegenwärtigen Stadium der Verhandlungen, eine neue Gefahr für das Zustandekommen des Instituts, hält sich für verpflichtet, Notiz davon zu nehmen, und erklärt sie für eine ungenaue, partheiische und in wesentlichen Punkten unrichtige Darstellung."

Sie beschlossen ferner: "Die Redaction Ihres Blattes um die Erlaubniss zu ersuchen, den Schluss jener Mittheilung noch vor seiner Veröffentlichung durchlesen zu dürfen, um so schnell wie möglich, also schon in der nächsten Nummer, dem Eindrucke entgegentreten zu können, den unwiderlegte Unwahrheiten und daraus abgeleitete Ansichten hervorbringen müssen."

Sie beschlossen schliesslich: "Das Committee ist naturgemäss und selbstverständlich allein, und in letzter Instanz competent, die Berichtigungen und Aufklärungen zu liefern, welche jene Mittheilung so dringend erheischt."

In Ihrer Abwesenheit, Herr Redacteur, wurde dem Committee von den übrigen Mitgliedern der Redaction die Einsicht in den Schluss des fraglichen Artikels verweigert; eine detaillirte Entgegnung muss demzufolge bis zur nächsten Nummer verschoben werden. Vielleicht wird bis dahin dem

Committee über die Person des Einsenders und seine Motive etwas bekannt.

Die Committee-Mitglieder,

DR. SCHILLING, *Präsident*,

DR. JACOBI, *Secretär*,

DR. GOLDMARK,

DR. KAMMERER.

DIE DEUTSCHE DISPENSARY IN NEW YORK.*

An den Redacteur der Criminal-Zeitung :

Die beiden letzten Nummern Ihres Blattes enthalten eine Einsendung, deren Inhalt uns die Pflicht auferlegt, Sie um den Abdruck dieser Erwiderung zu ersuchen. Wir beschränken uns, indem wir Sie um die Aufnahme derselben angehen, auf die blosse Darlegung von Thatsachen, weil wir auf der einen Seite den Raum Ihres Blattes nicht zu sehr in Anspruch zu nehmen wünschen, und weil wir auf der anderen Seite der Ueberzeugung sind, dass wir, die Unterzeichneten, einer langen *captatio benevolentiae*, welche immer das Zeichen der Schwäche ist, als Vorrede nicht bedürfen.

Es ist natürlich, dass der Einsender des in den zwei letzten Nummern Ihres Blattes enthaltenen Artikels eine grosse Anzahl von Thatsachen mittheilt; der Umstand nun, dass er auch etwas Wahres erzählte, scheint ihm Muth zu dem Unternehmen gemacht zu haben, auch von Dingen zu reden, die, gelinde gesagt, gar nicht, oder doch sehr verschieden von seiner Auffassungs- resp. Darstellungsweise passirt sind. Wir massen uns nicht das Recht an, Jedermann in das Wort zu fallen, wenn er zu seiner eigenen Erbauung es mit

* Aus der New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung und Belletristischem Journal, Freitag, 10. und 17. October 1856.

der Wahrheit nicht gerade haarscharf nimmt; da indessen persönliche Invectiven gegen die Unterzeichneten, wenn nicht den Zweck, so doch einen grossen Theil des Inhalts der fraglichen Artikels ausmachen, so sehen wir uns genöthigt, dem Einsender auf das Gebiet der Oeffentlichkeit, auf welches er sich begeben zu müssen geglaubt hat, zu folgen.

Die erste Generalversammlung der Armenärzte zum Zweck der Gründung einer deutschen Dispensary wurde am 1. Juli abgehalten. Sie war auf den Antrag der Doktoren Eisler, Jacobi, Kammerer, Miller, von Roth, Schilling berufen. Unter ihnen waren es vorzüglich die Doktoren Jacobi, Kammerer, Schilling, welche den Plan zur Errichtung eines solchen Instituts fassten, mit Energie verfolgten, und welche von vornherein auf die Möglichkeit sannnen, das zu gründende Institut nicht bloß ins Leben zu rufen, sondern auch seine Existenz zu sichern. Zu diesem letzten Zwecke war es von der grössten Wichtigkeit, eine hinreichend grosse Anzahl von tüchtigen und fleissigen Aerzten zur Betheiligung an der Dispensary zu bewegen. Nun war es, zur Ehre der deutschen Wissenschaft sei es gesagt, nicht schwierig, eine Liste von Aerzten aufzustellen, deren Betheiligung an dem Institute wir wünschten; sie enthielt die Namen:

Detmold, Gescheidt, Goldmark, Grevel, Henschel, Herzog, Jacobi, Kammerer, Krackowizer, Löwe, Miller, Müller, von Roth, Schilling, Schwedler, Schweich, Schnetter, Strube, Tellkamp, Voss, Welcker.

Streicht man diese Namen, so wird es allerdings noch möglich sein, aus den übrigen deutschen Aerzten New Yorks, Mitglieder für ein Dispensary-Collegium herauszufinden; allein gewiss keine, welche der Unterstützung und des Vertrauens des Publikums würdiger wären, als die genannten, und ebenso gewiss keine, deren humanes und wissenschaftliches Interesse sie mehr, als jene, zur Uebernahme eines Zeit und Mühe kostenden Amtes befähigen würde.

Bei der Rundfrage an die Einzelnen stellte es sich jedoch heraus, dass es wünschenswerther wäre, den geringsten Schein zu vermeiden, als ob die Anstalt von der geringen Zahl der zu Anfang genannten drei Individuen gegründet werden sollte. Es wurde hervorgehoben, dass von Seiten der Nichtbetheiligten die Sache als Bildung einer neuen Clique angesehen werden, und den Verdächtigungen nicht entgehen würde, welchen sich Doktor F. Miller, welcher vor acht Jahren ein deutsches Hospital zu gründen versuchte, oder die Doktoren Löwe, Strube, Rösler, Tellkampf, Schweich, Welcker, Meier aussetzten, als sie im letzten Frühjahr den selben Versuch machten.

Darauf hin gaben die "Faiseurs," wie Ihr Berichterstatter uns nennt, den Plan, im Voraus die wissenschaftlichen Kräfte der Dispensary zu gewinnen oder zu bestimmen, vollständig auf, weil ihnen vor allen Dingen daran lag, ein Mittel zu finden, um den Einflüsse persönlichen Hasses, etwaiger Eifersucht zwischen einzelnen Aerzten und jedem etwa bestehenden Cliquen- und Coterienwesen zu entgehen.

Den neutralen Boden, den die betreffenden Aerzte suchten, glaubten sie in dem Schoosse der Armenärzte zu finden ; wenn sie ihren Plan, die Gründung einer Dispensary, den gesammten Aerzten der Deutschen Gesellschaft zur Billigung überliessen—so glaubten sie—würden, im Angesicht eines theuren und heiligen Zweckes, alle Aerzte ihre persönlichen Streitigkeiten, ihre Eifersucht, ihre Missgunst, ihren Brodneid, ihre Scheelsucht hinter sich lassen, und Hand und Herz zu einem Bunde bieten, der für die Aerzte einen ebenso grossen wissenschaftlichen Gewinn, wie für das kranke und arme Publikum eine bedeutende, ja unschätzbare Wohlthat in seinem Gefolge haben müsste. Das war der Grund, weshalb gerade die genannten drei Aerzte, nach dem Berichte Ihres Einsenders, die Hauptredner der ersten Versammlung waren ; weit entfernt, diese Thatsache verschweigen zu wollen—was Ihr Einsender zu glauben scheint, da er speciell darauf aufmerksam macht—sehen sie im Gegentheile mit Genugthuung darauf hin, dass ihre ersten Pläne und Bemühungen die Agitation für einen guten Zweck angeregt haben.

Die Generalversammlung der Armenärzte erhob den Antrag auf Gründung einer Dispensary zum Beschluss. Mit diesem Augenblick, mit der Thatsache, dass die Armenärzte den Plan von drei ihrer Collegen zu ihrem gemeinschaftlichen erklärten, hatten diese ihren Zweck erreicht, und sie glaubten den Erfolg ihrer vorbereitenden Schritte schon in grosse Nähe gerückt. Die Discussion über die Beschaffung der Geldmittel wurde bald mit der Ernennung einer Commission, bestehend aus den

Doktoren Schilling, Goldmark, Grevel, Jacobi, Kammerer vorläufig beendigt, und dieser von der Versammlung der Auftrag ertheilt, für die nächste, binnen zwanzig Tagen zu berufende Generalversammlung der Armenärzte zwei Berichte auszuarbeiten, von denen der eine für die Armenärzte bestimmt sein und den Kostenanschlag, die Mittel zur Bestreitung der Unkosten und einen Entwurf zur Organisation der Dispensary enthalten sollte. Der zweite von der Commission verlangte Bericht sollte an den Verwaltungsrath der Deutschen Gesellschaft gerichtet sein; denn man hatte in der Versammlung sofort die etwaige Ansicht erwogen, dass der Verwaltungsrath der Deutschen Gesellschaft seinerseits, wie die Armenärzte den Plan von einigen ihrer Mitglieder adoptirt hatten, den Plan der Armenärzte zu dem seinigen zu machen gesonnen sein möchte. Weitere Berathungen und genauere Vorlagen erwartete man von der Commission.

Diese ging an's Werk. Ihre Berathungen, welche sich durch drei Sitzungen fortzogen, waren unter Andern auf die Beschaffung der Geldmittel gerichtet und beschäftigten sich in Bezug auf diesen Punkt mit den folgenden Anträgen:

1. Die Kosten sollen von denjenigen Armenärzten bestritten werden, welche sich an der Dispensary betheiligen wollen.

2. Sie sollen durch Subscription von Privaten aufgebracht werden.

3. Die Deutsche Gesellschaft wird ersucht, die Kosten der zu gründenden Dispensary zu tragen.

Der zweite Antrag war von Dr. Goldmark ge-

stellt; er fiel in der Commission, wie und weil er schon in der Generalversammlung gefallen war.

Der erste Antrag wurde vorläufig beseitigt; man hielt diesen Vorschlag als letzte Zuflucht offen.

Es blieb nichts übrig, als den dritten Antrag, für welchen sich schon in der Generalversammlung die Majorität der Stimmen erhoben hatte, anzunehmen und den beiden, an die Armenärzte und an den Verwaltungsrath abzufassenden, Berichten zu Grunde zu legen. In dem letzten heisst es, nach Mittheilung des Kostenanschlages und Motivirung der Nothwendigkeit der Errichtung einer deutschen Dispensary, dass die Armenärzte sich bewogen sehen, "den ersten Schritt zur Gründung einer Dispensary zu thun, indem sie deren Errichtung dem Verwaltungsrath der Deutschen Gesellschaft dringend zu empfehlen sich erlauben!"

Beide Berichte wurden in Form und Fassung der Vorlage von der nächsten Generalversammlung am 21. Juni angenommen, der für den Verwaltungsrath bestimmte den Delegaten übergeben. Nur den im Auftrage der ersten Generalversammlung ausgearbeiteten Organisationsentwurf weigerte sich die Versammlung in Berathung zu ziehen, weil man erklärte, nicht organisiren zu wollen, bevor etwas geschaffen sei.

Bis zu diesem Augenblicke waren also die That-sachen klar und einfach folgende:

Die Armenärzte haben die Gründung einer deutschen Dispensary beschlossen.

Der Verwaltungsrath der Deutschen Gesellschaft wird um die "Errichtung" einer Dispensary ersucht; d. h. er wird ersucht, die Kosten derselben

zu bestreiten. Die speciellere Organisation der Dispensary wird hinausgeschoben, bis die Verwirklichung des Planes in näherer Aussicht steht.

Die Commission, und mit ihr die Generalversammlung, rechnet nun darauf, dass der Verwaltungsrath der Deutschen Gesellschaft auf unser Ersuchen Ja oder Nein sagt, dass er entweder die Bestreitung sämmtlicher Kosten und selbstverständlich die gesammte finanzielle Verwaltung übernimmt, und somit die Dispensary als integrierenden Theil der Deutschen Gesellschaft bezeichnet, oder dass er eine direct abschlägige Antwort ertheilt. Die Commission war einstimmig über diese Auffassung; das Protokoll der letzten, vor der Generalversammlung vom 21. Juli gehaltenen Commissions-Sitzung erwähnt ausdrücklich eines Antrages der Doktoren Kammerer und Grevel, dass, wenn die Deutsche Gesellschaft sich zur Bestreitung sämmtlicher Kosten nicht verbindlich mache, die Commission als solche der Versammlung der Armenärzte keine Mittheilung zu machen, keine Anträge zu stellen habe, und dass die Dispensary in diesem Falle höchstens noch Privatanstalt werden könne.

Der Bericht der Armenärzte wurde dem Verwaltungsrath der Deutschen Gesellschaft in seiner Augusstsitzung mitgetheilt. Die Commission erwartete eine Antwort, die um so leichter zu geben war, als die Anfrage, das Ersuchen, so höchst einfach gestellt war. Indessen war der Erfolg anderer Art als wir gehofft hatten. Zwar handelte unter den gegebenen Umständen der Verwaltungsrath nicht anders, als er konnte, er ernannte eine

Commission zur Berichterstattung in der nächsten Sitzung. Aber die Delegaten, deren einer noch dazu Mitglied der Commission der Armenärzte war, hatten die Darstellung ganz aus dem Gesichte verloren. Sie bestanden nicht auf einer Uebernahme den gesammten Kosten von Seiten des Verwaltungsrathes, sondern auf einer Beistener desselben zu Gunsten der Dispensary. Wäre die Frage so einfach gestellt und negirt worden, wie der Antrag lautete, so hätte der Verwaltungsrath und seine Commission sich und uns Zeit und Mühe ersparen können. Es geschah indessen nicht.

Von diesem Augenblicke an trat allerdings "die ganze Angelegenheit in eine neue Phase." Was die Armenärzte mit vereinten Kräften leicht ausgeführt hätten, wurde von Neuem hinausgeschoben. Wir mussten uns indessen fügen. Für den Fall aber, dass die Antwort des Verwaltungsrathes der Deutschen Gesellschaft in der Weise ausfallen würde, wie wir nach persönlicher Rücksprache mit einzelnen Mitgliedern des Verwaltungsrathes zu erwarten Ursache hatten, d. h. für den Fall, dass derselbe sich ausser Stande erklären müsste, unser Ersuchen zu bewilligen, wollten wir nicht ohne Noth die ganze Zeit verloren geben. Deshalb trat eine Anzahl von Aerzten, die Doktoren Goldmark, Henschel, Herzog, Jacobi, Kammerer, Krackowizer, von Roth, Shilling, Schwedler, Schnetter, Strube, Voss, in der Wohnung Eines unter ihnen zusammen, besprachen sich über die Beschaffung von Geldmitteln, falls sie auf ihre eigenen Kräfte angewiesen wären, und trafen die Verabredung zu erproben, wie weit sie auf die Theilnahme des deutsch-

en Publikums an ihrem Projecte rechnen dürften. Zu diesem Ende wurden Subscriptionslisten mit den Namen der im Hause des Dr. Henschel versammelten und einiger anderen Aerzte, welche ihre Mithilfe versprochen und hinterher verweigerten, in Umlauf gesetzt. Diese Subscriptionslisten waren in wenigen Tagen so gefüllt, dass man die gegründetste Hoffnung auf die Verwirklichung des gehegten Planes haben durfte.

Demnach ist einfach unwahr, was Ihr Einsender behauptet, dass die Versammelten beschlossen haben sollen, "die Gründung einer deutschen Dispensary in ihre eigene Hand zu nehmen." Es wurde dies durch einen eigenen Beschluss ausdrücklich abgelehnt; es ist ebenso unwahr, dass wir uns "an einem den ursprünglichen Plan der Armenärzte gerade durchkreuzenden Unternehmen betheiligten"; es ist ferner unwahr, dass die Unterschriften unter den Subscriptionsbogen die "an der Dispensary zu beschäftigenden Aerzte" vorstellten, und es ist zum Schluss unwahr, dass von einer "Candidatur" Anderer die Rede gewesen sei. Die Unterschriften waren einfach die Namen von einer bestimmten Anzahl respectabler Aerzte, welche das Publikum, das, wenn es zahlen soll, ein Recht hat, zu wissen, wem es zahlen soll, um Geldzeichnungen ersuchen wollte; und dass diese Unterschriften ebenso erfolgreich, wie nothwendig waren, beweist das Resultat. Auf diese letzten Thatfachen wird, in gefälschter Auffassung, von Ihrem Berichterstat-ter so viel Gewicht gelegt, dass wir gerade diesen Punkt gehörig beleuchten zu müssen geglaubt haben; und deshalb, und weil sie nicht Lust haben,

wichtige und heilige Zwecke vernichten zu lassen bevor sie realisirt werden, halten sie es für Recht und für ihre Pflicht, Invectiven zurückzuweisen und das Interesse der Sache zu wahren. Wir haben hinzuzufügen, dass wir sofort aufhörten, Subscriptionen, welche, wie gesagt, vorläufig und für den Nothfall gesucht wurden, zu sammeln, sobald es verlautete, dass allerdings Aussicht vorhanden sei, dass der Verwaltungsrath der Deutschen Gesellschaft die Sache der Dispensary zu der seinigen machen würde. Beweis genug, dass wir nicht Willens waren, die Dispensary und die Armenärzte "in die Tasche zu stecken" obschon wir, mit den bis dahin gezeichneten Beiträgen, eine Dispensary augenblicklich hätten gründen können. Ein weiterer Beweis dafür ist ein in der Generalversammlung vom 13. September von Dr. Goldmark gestellter Antrag: "Die Armenärzte werden hiermit aufgefordert, sich zur Theilnahme an der Dispensary bei der Commission zu melden und binnen vierzehn Tagen zur Organisation zu schreiten." Dieser Antrag wurde von der Majorität zurückgewiesen.

Die Generalversammlung der Armenärzte, welche auf den 13. September berufen war, um die officielle Antwort des Verwaltungsrathes entgegenzunehmen, wurde von einem der Delegaten mit der Erklärung eröffnet, dass keine officielle Antwort vorhanden sei. Wir wollen nicht bestimmen, ob es nicht leicht gewesen wäre, sich in oder nach der Sitzung des Verwaltungsrathes von dem Secretär eine Copie des Beschlusses geben zu lassen; soviel ist gewiss, dass wir erfuhren, es sei keine Antwort vorhanden

—drei Tage nach der Sitzung. Derselbe Delegat berichtete, dass der Verwaltungsrath fünfhundert Dollars für das erste Halbjahre bewilligt habe. "Alles, was verlangt sei." Dem widersprach der Bericht der *Staats-Zeitung*. Somit war der Antrag des Dr. Goldmark auf Vertagung, bis eine Antwort vorhanden sei, gewiss am Platze; indessen wurde er von einer grossen Majorität, welche von keinem weiteren Aufschub wissen wollte, niedergestimmt, zumal da Dr. Löwe, was die Delegaten nicht zu thun im Stande gewesen waren, den Versammelten den Inhalt des von dem Verwaltungsrath gefassten Beschlusses, einigermaßen klar machte. Nachdem wir seine Mittheilung gehört hatten, leuchtete uns ein, dass die Delegaten ihre Pflicht im Verwaltungsrath versäumt hatten; ob aus Unkenntniss, oder aus irgend welchem andern Grunde, bleibt dahingestellt, aber Thatsache ist, was wir bereits angeführt haben, dass einer der Delegaten selber, Dr. Grevel, der zugleich Mitglied der Commission der Armenärzte war, in derselben den Antrag gestellt hat, dass, wenn der Verwaltungsrath der Deutschen Gesellschaft die Bestreitung der Kosten für die Dispensary nicht vollständig übernehme und so dieselbe, als Anstalt der Deutschen Gesellschaft, nicht vollständig sicherstelle, diese nur Privatanglegenheit sein könne, und dass wir demnach, falls eine Antwort in entgegengesetztem Sinne an uns erginge, als Commission der Versammlung der Armenärzte Nichts mehr zu sagen hätten. Und eine fernere Thatsache ist, dass, als eins der Commissionsmitglieder mit dem zweiten Delegaten, lange vor der Sitzung

des Verwaltungsrathes vom 10. September, und vor jener besprochenen Privatzusammenkunft im Hause des Dr. Henschel gelegentlich die einzuschlagenden Schritte zur Erlangung einer baldigen Antwort besprechen wollte, er die Erwiderung erhielt, dass ihm, dem Delegaten, niemand zu befehlen habe, was er im Verwaltungsrathe thun solle, dass er sich keine Meinung aufzotroyiren lasse, dass, wenn seine Ansicht von der Sache eine falsche sei, ihm seine falsche Ansicht lieber sei, als anderer Leute richtige Ansicht u. s. w.

Wir behaupten also, dass die Delegaten ihre Pflicht versäumt haben. Als wir den Verwaltungsrath der Deutschen Gesellschaft um die Gründung einer Dispensary ersuchten, wollten wir als Antwort ein "Ja" oder "Nein." Statt dessen entnahmen wir aus den Mittheilungen des Dr. Löwe und dem Bericht der *Staats-Zeitung*, dass der Verwaltungsrath Subscriptionen zur Gründung der Dispensary sammeln wolle, und die Armenärzte auffordere, ihn in seinen Bemühungen zu unterstützen, dass er, "falls diese Bemühungen nicht ausreichen," fünf hundert Dollars für das erste Halbjahr garantire. Aus der *Staats-Zeitung* entnahmen wir ferner, dass der Verwaltungsrath "eine sofortige Verschmelzung der Dispensary mit der Deutschen Gesellschaft" ablehne. Nun war eine theilweise Bestreitung der Kosten deshalb ein Unding, weil in diesem Falle an eine Verwaltung der gesammten Geldmittel nicht zu denken war. Eine vorläufige Unterhaltung des Instituts mit allen Zweifeln an seiner Fortexistenz wünschten wir natürlich ebenso wenig, weil wir keine Anstalt

gründen helfen wollten, deren Bestehen jeden Augenblick unsicher war; wir konnten es um so weniger dann wünschen, als wir sahen, dass Privatanstrengungen, ohne officiële Beihülfe genügten, der Anstalt eine sichere Zukunft zu verschaffen. Was wir aber wünschten, war, entweder die Dispensary als integrirenden Theil der Deutschen Gesellschaft betrachtet zu wissen, oder aber eine in ihrer Leitung und in ihren Geldmittel, unabhängige Dispensary zu gründen; war ferner, in diesem letzten Falle die Möglichkeit zu haben, für das Institut einen Charter zu erlangen, Eigenthum erwerben zu dürfen, und dieselbe Stellung zu schaffen, welche die fünf amerikanischen, ebenfalls aus Privatmitteln unterhaltenen Dispensaries New Yorks einnehmen; war schliesslich, lieber die Gründung der Dispensary, die Leitung ihrer finanziellen Angelegenheiten, den subscribirenden Privaten, resp. ihren Trustees, also doch einer einheitlichen Behörde zu überlassen, als das Unthunliche zu verlangen, dass entweder die Geber aus dem Publikum auf die Verwaltung ihrer Beiträge verzichteten, oder aber eine aus diesen Gebern und der Deutschen Gesellschaft gemischte Verwaltung eingesetzt werde. Freilich findet Ihr Berichterstatter es empörend, dass man dem Zahlenden die Verwaltung seiner Gelder überlassen oder anvertrauen will; er beklagt sich bitter, mit moralischer Entrüstung, darüber, "dass eine Corporation, die zweiundsechzig der gebildetsten Aerzte unserer Stadt zu ihren Mitgliedern zählt, durch einige Geldsäcke ersetzt werden soll, die zufällig fünf oder zehn Thaler für einen guten Zweck fliegen lassen, viel-

leicht aber nur in der Absicht, um als Trustees einer öffentlichen Anstalt zu fungiren.”

Nach dem Obigen ist es natürlich, dass gerade Diejenigen, welche Anfangs für die Gründung und Uebernahme der Dispensary von Seiten der Armenärzte am meisten das Wort geführt hatten, sich nicht damit einverstanden erklären wollten, dem Institute eine unsichere Basis zu geben. Deshalb aber wollte man immerhin nicht, wie Ihr Berichterstatter und Kritiker sich plastisch ausdrückt, “dass das Collegium der Armenärzte der Deutschen Gesellschaft wie jener trotzig Junge gegenüberstehen sollte, der, nachdem er von seiner Mutter, durch halbstündiges Flennen, eine Birne ertrotzt, ihr diese angegeifert in's Gesicht schleudert”; man wollte auch nicht der Deutschen Gesellschaft “ihr Anerbieten ganz trocken vor die Füße werfen,” sondern Dr. Jacobi, der Secretär und Berichterstatter der Commission, stellte den, auf die eben erwähnten Motive gestützten Antrag, man wolle beschliessen, “die Generalversammlung der Armenärzte sieht sich verpflichtet, das Anerbieten des Verwaltungsrathes höflichst und dankend abzulehnen.”

Dieser Antrag fiel mit dreizehn gegen siebzehn Stimmen.

Dagegen wurde der Antrag des Dr. Goldmark, “dass die Commission beauftragt werde, der Deutschen Gesellschaft die motivirte Antwort zu geben: dass, wenn die Dispensary nicht ein integrierender Theil der Deutschen Gesellschaft sein könne, es im Interesse der zu errichtenden Anstalt besser sei, dass dieselbe durch Privatanstrengungen der

Aerzte creirt werde, und nur im Nothfall die Hülfe der Deutschen Gesellschaft in Anspruch zu nehmen"—angenommen; immerhin ein Beweis dafür, dass unsere Auffassung des Sachverhältnisses von der Majorität—zum Theil wider Willen—anerkannt wurde.

Zu bemerken ist—und dies will Ihr Berichtstatter scheinen missverstanden zu haben—dass in der Discussion mehrfach das Verhältniss der Deutschen Gesellschaft zum Publikum angeregt wurde. Wir alle erklärten uns selbstverständlich bereit, die Popularität der Deutschen Gesellschaft durch die Dispensary zu vermehren, denn wir thaten es, und wussten, dass wir es thaten; aber wir wollten dies nicht auf Kosten der Dispensary. Als daher einer der Delegaten, Dr. Grevel, davon sprach, dass die Deutsche Gesellschaft das für die Dispensary nöthige Geld durch Subscriptionen sammeln wolle, dass voraussichtlich eine grössere Summe, als der Kostenanschlag der Commission, das Resultat dieser Sammlungen sein werde, und dass wir "diesen Vortheil der Deutschen Gesellschaft ja wohl gönnen" würden, erklärten wir uns allerdings entschieden dagegen, dass irgend ein Theil dessen, was unter dem Vorwande und zum Nutzen der zu gründenden Dispensary von Privaten gegeben, zu anderen Zwecken verwandt werde. Unser Zweck war, eine Dispensary zu gründen, zu erhalten, nach Kräften zu vergrössern, ihre Zukunft zu sichern, aber nicht der, einen Vorwand zu finden, unter dem die Kasse der Deutschen Gesellschaft gefüllt werden möchte; die Deutsche Gesellschaft mochte alle unsere Sympathien haben, aber

unser Hauptinteresse war dem in Aussicht stehenden Institute zugewandt. Dies nun ist unsere "Animosität gegen die Deutsche Gesellschaft," von welcher Ihr Berichterstatter so viel Aufhebens macht. Wenn dieser Herr nur etwas länger, als ganz kurze Zeit, selber Armenarzt gewesen sein sollte, so müsste er wissen, dass jeder der Unterzeichneten die ganze Zeit seines Aufenthaltes hier im Dienste der Deutschen Gesellschaft gearbeitet hat und noch arbeitet, dass also diese "Animosität" nur das Gespinnst seines erfindungsreichen Gehirns sein kann.

Wir glauben in dem Vorstehenden ein einfache, klare, objective, leidenschaftslose Darstellung des Sachverhaltes geliefert zu haben. Wir überlassen es Ihnen, Herr Redacteur, und dem Publikum, zu beurtheilen, ob die Darstellung Ihres Berichterstatters mit allen Verdächtigungen, Auslassungen, Zusätzen, Unwahrheiten, vor allen Dingen, mit den zahlreichen persönlichen Ausfällen, auf denselben Titel Anspruch machen darf.

Als wir, Herr Redacteur, die Nothwendigkeit einsahen, mit diesen Auseinandersetzungen vor Sie und Ihr Publikum zu treten, war uns keinen Augenblick zweifelhaft, wie unsere Entgegnung gehalten sein müsse. Wir wussten gewiss, dass wir nicht nöthig hatten, dem Publikum ein ungünstiges Urtheil über uns zu nehmen; denn wir fühlten, dass jeder einigermaßen anständige Mensch von dem widerwärtigen Gemisch feiger Verdächtigungen, anonymer Schimpfereien, tückischer Wortverdrehungen und Sinnentstellungen, brodneidischer Insinuationen, heuchlerischer Hu-

manitätsphrasen angeekelt sein werde; wir wussten ebenso bestimmt, dass jeder Gebildete sofort für die Insultirten gegen den schmutzigen Verleumder Partei ergreift. Aber wir sahen die Zweckmässigkeit und Nothwendigkeit ein, dem Publikum über ein zu gründendes öffentliches Institut alle erwähnenswerthen Thatsachen mitzutheilen. Und dies haben wir hiermit gethan.

Der Hauptvorwurf, welchen Ihr Berichterstatter der Commission macht, ist derjenige der Inconsequenz. Fragen Sie die Thatsachen.

Die Doktoren Jacobi, Kammerer, Schilling fassten und besprachen zuerst den Plan zur Gründung einer Dispensary. Zur Vermeidung aller Reibungen suchten sie einen neutralen Boden.

Als der zweckmässigste erscheint ihnen die Gesamtheit der Armenärzte.

Die Armenärzte beschliessen auf ihren Antrag die Gründung der Dispensary.

Sie beauftragen die in der Generalversammlung ernannte Commission, einen speziellen Bericht an die nächste Generalversammlung, ferner einen Bericht an den Verwaltungsrath der Deutschen Gesellschaft zu verfassen.

So war die obengenannte Commission in eine vorgeschriebene Bahn hineingedrängt. Wir waren beauftragt, die Deutsche Gesellschaft anzugehen, da wir blos für die Aerzte einen neutralen Boden gesucht hatten, und weil wir diesen Auftrag erfüllten, weil wir eine Reihe von Sitzungen hielten, weil wir eine Masse von Arbeiten übernahmen, und uns für unsere Auftraggeber abmühten, darum bewirft Ihr Berichterstatter uns mit Koth. Er verlangt

von uns, nachdem wir unsere officiële Pflicht erfüllt, dass wir als Privatpersonen keine eigene Meinung haben sollen, er zieht uns der Inconsequenz, weil wir Selbstverleugnung genug besaßen, im Interesse der Sache, die wir zuerst besprochen, die wir angeregt, die wir in Fluss gebracht, für die Meinungen unserer Auftraggeber, denen wir freiwillig unsern Plan unterbreiteten und denen wir uns zur Verfügung stellten, zu denken, zu schreiben, zu arbeiten.

Wir können uns das Zeugniß ablegen, dass wir nicht nur die Einzigen sind, die in der Dispensary-angelegenheit gearbeitet haben, sondern auch, dass wir redlich gearbeitet haben ; mögen unsere Thaten uns richten. Ihr Berichterstatter hat nicht nur nicht gearbeitet, er hat ganz bestimmt in keiner der abgehaltenen Versammlungen auch nur gesprochen ; denn einen Mann, welcher sich so ausdrücken kann, wie Ihr Berichterstatter, würden wir unter tausend Rednern herauslesen. Die ersten Worte, welche er hat laut werden lassen, sind diejenigen, welche in Ihrem Blatte veröffentlicht sind. Und diese Worte haben ihn gerichtet.

Die Commissions-Mitglieder,

DR. SCHILLING, *Präsident*,

DR. JACOBI, *Secretär*,

DR. GOLDMARK,

DR. KAMMERER.

FESTREDE

ZUR FEIER DES FÜNFUNDZWANZIGJÄHRIGEN JUBILÄUMS
DES DEUTSCHEN DISPENSARY DER STADT NEW
YORK, UND DER EINWEIHUNG DES OTTEN-
DORFER-PAVILIONS IM DEUTSCHEN
HOSPITAL, AM 27. MAI 1882.

*Herr Präsident und meine Herren vom Vorstand,
hochgeehrte Gäste, verehrte Versammlung,
meine Herren Collegen!*

Dieses Büchlein, Herr Präsident, vielleicht das einzige, sicherlich eines der wenigen überlebenden seiner Art, ist das älteste Document der organisirten wissenschaftlichen Thätigkeit deutscher Aerzte in New York. Es enthält die "Constitution und Nebengesetze des Vereins der deutschen Aerzte der Stadt New York, gegründet im Jahre 1846."

Von den sechsundzwanzig Mitgliedern, welche dieser Verein vom Anfange des Jahres 1847 bis zum Ende des Jahres 1856 umfasste, sind nur noch acht, zum Theil sehr hoch betagt, am Leben. Die Gründer desselben, A. Gescheidt, C. Henschel, W. Detmold, H. N. Wilhelm, M. Palmedo, Fr. Miller, G. Landesmann, I. Fränkel und M. Michaelis, verdienen in der Geschichte des geistigen Lebens der Stadt eine bleibende Stelle, und in dem Gedächtnisse der nachgeborenen Aerzte eine dankbare Anerkennung.

Dieses zweite Büchlein, Herr Präsident, hat eine noch grössere, direkt praktische Bedeutung für uns.

Es enthält die "Grund- und Nebengesetze des Deutschen Dispensary der Stadt New York, gegründet am 19. Januar 1857." Die Anstalt, welche zu dem heutigen Doppelfeste Veranlassung gegeben hat, schliesst mit diesem Nachmittag das erste Vierteljahrhundert ihrer Thätigkeit. Den ältern unter uns Aerzten, so weit wir hier anwesend sein konnten, weder durch Tod noch durch ungünstige Umstände verhindert, gereicht dieser Tag zu besonders grosser Freude. Nicht dass nicht die Schatten unserer geschiedenen Mitarbeiter ein melancholisches Licht über das Gemälde der letzten fünfundzwanzig Jahre werfen; die Freude ist dem Umstande zuzumessen, dass unsere Schöpfung diese lange Reihe von Jahren nicht bloß bestanden, sondern von Jahr zu Jahr segensreicher sich entfaltet hat. Mir, einem der wenigen Ueberlebenden aus jener Zeit, ist die Ehre der Aufforderung geworden, zu Ihnen über die Geschichte des Dispensary bei dieser Feier zu reden. *Das betrachte ich als die Hauptaufgabe, welche mir gestellt ist, und ich werde mich daher darauf beschränken, Miterlebtes als Augenzeuge zu bekunden.* Viele nun von Ihnen, meine Herren Collegen, haben das Glück, so jung zu sein, dass der grösste Theil der Namen, mit welchen wir Aeltern vertraut waren, von Ihnen nicht einmal gehört worden sind. Daher werden Sie mir verzeihen, wenn ich gar Manchen nicht nenne, der entweder Kampfgenoss oder Gegner war in jenen Zeiten, in welchen das Geschlecht der Doktoren sich durch dieselben Eigenschaften kennzeichnete, von denen auch unser Stand nicht, nicht einmal unser Stand, in unsern jetzigen Zeiten

frei sein soll—Hass und Liebe, Arbeitslust und Trägheit, Selbstaufopferung und Selbstsucht, Generosität und Brodneid, Bescheidenheit und Eitelkeit.

Vor jener Zeit nun, in welcher Ihr Dispensary gegründet wurde, lag die gesammte organisirte Armenkrankenpflege unter den Deutschen New York's in den Händen der *Deutschen Gesellschaft*. Alle deutschen Aerzte, welche sich zur Behandlung armer, auf dem Bureau derselben angemeldeter Kranken bereit erklärten, bildeten den *Verband der Armenärzte*. Durch zwei Delegaten waren sie im Verwaltungsrathe der Deutschen Gesellschaft vertreten. Die Aerzte leisteten die Arbeit, im Sprechzimmer und am Krankenbette, und die Deutsche Gesellschaft bezahlte die Apotheker-Rechnungen. Vor mehr als fünfundzwanzig Jahren, im Jahre 1856, bestand der Verein der Armenärzte aus zweiundsechzig Mitgliedern. In seinen officiellen Versammlungen herrschte nicht immer Streit, aber auch nicht immer Einigkeit. Nicht immer wurden auch die ruhigsten und tauglichsten und räsonnabelsten Mitglieder zu Delegaten erwählt, bisweilen sogar die unerwartetsten und räsonnirendsten; nicht immer wurde auch gute und pflichtgetreue Arbeit geliefert.

Es ist nun einmal nicht möglich, dass nicht unter vielen Dutzenden von isolirten Arbeitern, welche durch nur losen Verband zusammengehalten werden, gelegentlich Unzulängliches und Unzukömmliches passire. So wuchsen die Schwierigkeiten in's Riesengrosse. Sie wissen ja aus dem jetzigen Stande der Dinge, dass die Deutsche Gesellschaft

schon seit vielen Jahren, und auch mancherlei Gründen, vorgezogen hat, ihre Hauskrankenpflege durch einen oder mehrere sorgfältig ausgewählte, honorirte Aerzte besorgen zu lassen.

Auf alle Fälle war die Krankenpflege, wie sie gehandhabt wurde, nicht genügend. Auf Abhülfe der Uebelstände wurde gedacht, praktisch und unpraktisch. Wie naiv aber gelegentlich gerechnet wurde, beweist Ihnen vielleicht ein zu Anfang des Jahres 1856 mit den Unterschriften der Doktoren Löwe, Meier, Schweich, Welcker, Rössler, Strube und Tellkampff versehenes Circular, betreffend die Errichtung eines deutschen Hospitals, in welchem für einen jährlichen Beitrag von fünfundzwanzig Dollars die stete Verfügung über ein Bett zugesagt wurde. Die Gründung eines Dispensary wurde zuerst von den Doktoren Kammerer, Schilling und Jacobi besprochen; aber ehe noch die ersten Schritte in New York gethan wurden, hatten die Collegen Bauer, Kalt, Bräunlich, Neuhaus und Pfeifer in Brooklyn ein Dispensary eröffnet, welches viele Jahre gute Dienste geleistet hat. Wir New Yorker glaubten zu Anfang, dass der einzige neutrale Boden, auf welchem wir unseren Bau errichten könnten, der Verband der Armenärzte der Deutschen Gesellschaft sei. Allein dieser loyale Gedanke konnte nicht ausgeführt werden, weil die letztere sich nicht für die Uebernahme des Institutes, wohl aber zu einem Zuschuss von Geldmitteln bereit erklärte, falls die Privat-Unterstützung des Publikums mangelhaft ausfallen werde. Der Umstand aber, dass damit eine gemischte Verwaltung nothwendig werden würde, und die Unmöglich-

keit, die gesammten ärztlichen Kräfte zu verwerthen, ferner Persönlichkeiten, Gehässigkeiten, Animositäten der derbsten Art, und schliesslich die beengten Verhältnisse der Deutschen Gesellschaft, welcher sogar die Nothwendigkeit in's Gesicht startete, ihren Präsidenten zu salariren—auf der andern Seite die zuversichtliche Hoffnung auf Erfolg, wenn eine gewisse Anzahl von Aerzten sich direct an das Publikum wenden würde, und das Bewusstsein der Zusammengehörigkeit einer kleinen Zahl arbeitslustiger und arbeitsgewohnter Männer—alles das veranlasste uns, einen selbstständigen Versuch zu Durchführung unserer Pläne zu machen.

Wir waren aber nicht die Ersten im Felde. Denn die Deutsche Gesellschaft war indessen bewogen worden, unter ihrem Schutz und auf ihre alleinigen Kosten ein Dispensary in's Leben zu rufen.

Dies *Dispensary der Deutschen Gesellschaft*, officiell gegründet und unterhalten, begann seine Thätigkeit mit vierundzwanzig Aerzten, und ging nach einigen Jahren ein. In diesem Zusammenhange lassen Sie mich auch eines viel späteren Versuches zur Gründung eines andern deutschen Dispensary Erwähnung thun. Einige von Ihnen werden sich vielleicht der Thatsache erinnern, dass—vor etwa acht Jahren—nach einem günstigen Committee-Berichte, die Legislatur von dem erfolgreichen zukünftigen Wirken eines neu geplanten Dispensary so überzeugt war, dass sie von Staatswegen vier tausend Dollars bewilligte. Die werdende Anstalt konnte dieses Uebermass von Wohlergehen nicht ertragen, das Geld wurde bezahlt, und

der Zweck war erreicht. Das Dispensary löste sich mit wirklichem Wohlgefallen auf.

Unser Dispensary, "*das Deutsche Dispensary der Stadt New York,*" nachdem es am 19. Januar 1857 officiell gegründet war, wurde am 28. Mai 1857 in 132 Canal Street eröffnet. Bis zum Ende des Jahres behandelte es 2,372 Kranke, im nächsten Jahre 1858 : 4,867, 1861 : 9,681, 1866 : 11,472, 1868 : 14,407, 1876 : 20,785, 1881 : 23,637, im Ganzen etwa 350,000. Mit diesen Zahlen ist ausgedrückt, was die Anstalt mit sehr geringen Mitteln den Kranken und Armen geleistet hat. Mögen Diejenigen, welche viel oder wenig zu diesem Resultate beigesteuert haben, in diesem Ergebniss ihre Befriedigung finden. Sie alle fühlen mit mir, dass das Publikum in diesen langen fünfundzwanzig Jahren mit uns zufrieden war.

Aber das Dispensary würde nicht genug geleistet haben, wenn es nur der Drittel-Million von Kranken Hülfe oder Erleichterung gebracht hätte. Denn, meine Damen und Herren, Sie müssen wissen, dass wir Aerzte auf eine Krankenanstalt von verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten aus schauen. Eine richtige Anstalt muss den Kranken nützen und den Aerzten. Die Kranken sind sich selber genügender und alleiniger Zweck, uns aber auch Mittel. Sie sind uns Material zum Beobachten und Lernen, sie liefern uns Erfahrungen und Kenntnisse, von denen Einige besseren, Andere weniger genügenden Gebrauch machen, wie das so geht. In der Weise hat das Dispensary Denjenigen, welche in ihm gearbeitet haben, reiche Früchte getragen, Früchte, welche in zweiter Linie dann dem grossen

Publikum wieder zu Gute kommen. Nicht einer ist unter uns, der in dieser Schule nicht viel gelernt hätte. Unser College, welcher in seiner Specialität in allen Literaturen genannt wird, hat in ihr, nachdem er kurz nach ihrer Gründung eingetreten war, sich seine Sporen verdient; und Diejenigen, welche in irgend einem Kreise der Wissenschaft und Kunst sich über ihre deutsche Clientele und Nachbarschaft hinaus einen Namen gemacht haben, verdanken wieder dem Dispensary goldene Gelegenheiten. Frühzeitig erwarb sich dasselbe Ruf in den medicinischen Kreisen der Stadt; schriftstellernde Mitglieder hatten zu jener Zeit keinen andern Ehrentitel, als den: "Arzt am Deutschen Dispensary." Krackowizer und Voss trugen seinen Namen in die chirurgischen Kreise; bevor sie mit irgend einer andern Anstalt in Verbindung standen, kannte man sie nur als Chirurgen des Deutschen Dispensary in Canal Street. Noeggerath's literarische Arbeiten trugen den Namen der Anstalt über die Stadt hinaus, und die erste amerikanische Arbeit jener Zeit über Diphtherie, in den Vereinigten Staaten viel copirt, in Deutschland bald übersetzt, verdankte ihre Existenz dem reichen Material des Deutschen Dispensary.

Während nun der Ruf desselben unter den amerikanischen Collegien stieg, festigte sich der Zusammenhang unter den ärztlichen Mitgliedern durch tägliches Zusammenarbeiten. Sie waren jung, arbeitskräftig und enthusiastisch; die Monatssitzungen entbehrten nie des Materials und eines vollen Besuchs, und mussten gelegentlich verdoppelt werden, die Vorträge wurden ausschliesslich von

Mitgliedern gehalten ; und die regelmässigen ausserordentlichen Monatssitzungen, für den gesammten deutschen ärztlichen Stand berechnet, waren stark frequentirt. Es ist eine Quelle grosser Genugthuung, dass diese beiden Institute noch fortbestehen und leistungskräftig sind. Frühzeitig wurde von den Aerzten eine reiche Journal-Bibliothek gegründet, dem Dispensary als Eigenthum übermacht und liberal verwaltet. So war das Dispensary der Sammelpunkt nicht aller, aber vieler Derjenigen, welche arbeiten und sich fortbilden wollten, war ein physischer und geistiger Mittelpunkt, war der gesuchte Schwerpunkt für Neuangekommene, von denen es für eine Ehre angesehen wurde, hospitiren und assistiren zu dürfen : der Jahresbericht von 1868 zählt die Namen von zehn Aerzten auf, deren freiwillige regelmässige Assistenz rühmend anerkannt wird. Das Geschrei über Cliquenwesen in einer Gemeinschaft, deren Wirken öffentlich ist, die sich gern aus den allerbesten Elementen vermehrt, und mit ihren Bildungsmitteln so liberal ist, wie unsere Gesellschaft war, ist an und für sich thöricht. Es gab eine Zeit, und sie ist nicht vorüber, in welcher es schwer hielt, die Zahl der Dispensary-Aerzte zu beschränken ; natürlich kehrten sich alle Diejenigen gegen dasselbe, deren Beitritt nicht wünschenswerth befunden wurde. Unterdessen ist es Thatsache, dass unter den amerikanischen Aerzten es eine Empfehlung war, zum Deutschen Dispensary zu gehören ; Thatsache auch, um von persönlichen Dingen zu reden, dass das Verhältniss der Mitglieder unter einander immer cordial, vielfach intim war. Missgunst, Neid und Ver-

läumdung, oder Bekrittung, fanden keine Stätte, demagogische oder oligarchische Gelüste keinen Boden. Es war das ein goldenes Zeitalter. Vielleicht darf ich auch meinen jüngern Collegen heimlich mittheilen, dass unsere gemeinsamen Abende sich gern in die Morgenstunden verlängerten; ganz gewiss auch, dass es noch keinen Magenkatarrh unter uns gab, keinen Rheumatismus und keine grauen Haare.

Während nun die Stellung der Dispensary-Aerzte unter einander und zu dem ärztlichen Gesamtstande eine ganz vorzügliche wurde, gestalteten sich seine Beziehungen zum Publikum in höchst angenehmer Weise. Die Paragraphen fünf und sechs der ursprünglichen Statuten trugen ganz gewiss viel dazu bei. § 5 lautete: "Die allgemeine Leitung und die ökonomische und finanzielle Verwaltung des Vereines und der Anstalt ist in den Händen eines Vorstandes von zwölf Mitgliedern. Die medicinische Leitung und Führung der Anstalt liegt dem Collegium der Aerzte derselben ob." § 6 bestimmt, dass zwei vom Collegium der Aerzte erwählte Vertreter Mitglieder des Verwaltungsrathes sein sollen, eine Bestimmung, welche in ähnlicher Weise in die Regeln der später zu Hospital und Dispensary erweiterten Anstalt überging. So wurde es möglich, dass ein sofortiges und unmittelbares Verständniss zwischen Aerzten und Laien zu Stande kam; so hat die Anstalt fünfundzwanzig Jahre lang in Frieden prosperirt, ohne Reibung, ohne Eifersüchtelei, ohne Neid, ohne Furcht, in vollster Harmonie von Vorstand und ärztlichem Körper. Diejenigen von Ihnen, welche

viel mit andern ähnlichen Anstalten zu thun haben, werden wissen, wie sehr das Gedeihen derselben daran kränkelt, dass von Vertretung der Aerzte im Vorstand, von einem unmittelbaren Verständniss, von gegenseitigem Berathen nicht die Rede ist, *und auch* davon, dass wegen des einheitlichen Sinnes, wegen des guten Einvernehmens zwischen Aerzten und Laien das Deutsche Hospital und Dispensary weit hinaus beneidet wird.

Freilich bildet dasselbe auch in anderer Hinsicht eine Ausnahme. Die Gemeinsamkeit der Interessen, das Bewusstsein der Zusammengehörigkeit und absolut gleicher Bedürfnisse hat es zuwege gebracht, dass in unserer Anstalt Aerzte zu den bedeutendsten Contribuenten gehören. Einer der allerletzten Jahresberichte führt wieder einmal einen der älteren Aerzte mit einem grossen Geldbeitrage auf; Publikum und Aerzte hatten sich nun einmal zu einem gemeinsamen wissenschaftlichen und humanen Unternehmen vereinigt. Das erstere gab in manchen Jahren willig. Als aber die grösseren Bedürfnisse des Hospitals zu drängen anfangen, fühlten auch viele der Aerzte, dass es Zeit sei, neben Zeit und Arbeit von ihrem gewiss nicht grossen Erwerb zu geben, als Hülfe und als Beispiel. Es ist nun einmal recht so, meine Collegen, dass im deutschen Arzte, wie er sein soll, Hirn und Herz von *humaniora* gefüllt seien.

Der erste Vorstand des Dispensary bestand aus den Herren Ferd. Karck, Präsident; E. A. Oelrichs, Vice-Präsident; E. S. Ballin, Schatzmeister; B. Roelker, Secretär; F. Dietz, F. Luis, N. K. Rosenfeld, R. A. Witthaus. Daneben fungirten *ex-officio*

der Präsident und der Schatzmeister der Deutschen Gesellschaft; und als Delegaten der Aerzte die Doktoren Krackowizer und Henschel.

Active Dienste hat der Letztere niemals geleistet, aber seine Sympathie mit der jungen Anstalt—er war einer der älteren und beliebtesten Aerzte—war der letzteren von grosser Wichtigkeit. Seine Collegien haben ihm diese Sympathie niemals vergessen und gern dankbar vergolten, auch zu einer Zeit, in welcher er sich, lange vor seinem Tode, welcher erst vor acht Jahren erfolgte, ganz vom Dispensary zurückgezogen hatte.

Das erste Collegium der Aerzte bestand aus den Doktoren J. Goldmark, C. Henschel, M. Herzog, A. Jacobi, J. Kammerer, E. Krackowizer, W. von Roth, E. Schilling, E. F. Schwedler, J. Schnetter, F. Strube und L. A. Voss.

W. von Roth musste sich bald nach Italien entfernen und starb schnell an der Schwindsucht. Er war jung, beliebt, das Bild eines Gentleman, ein guter Chirurg. Er führte die Tracheotomie bei Croup in die New Yorker Praxis ein, und hat sie achtundvierzig Mal, mit elf Genesungen, ausgeführt.

F. Strube resignirte ebenfalls, und zog sich bald nach Deutschland zurück. Im Geiste blieb er bei uns, obgleich wir selten von ihm hörten. Aus seinem Nachlass fiel dem Hospital und Dispensary ein Legat zu.

Da aber um dieselbe Zeit Dr. Noeggerath aufgenommen wurde, so wurde der active Dienst unter den Doktoren Schilling und Schwedler für die innere, Krackowizer und Voss für die chirurgische,

Herzog und Jacobi für die Kinder-, Kammerer und Noeggerath für die Frauen-, und Goldmark für die Haut-Abtheilung organisirt.

Die einzige Veränderung des Jahres 1858 war die thätige Betheiligung Dr. Schnetter's an der inneren, und der Uebertritt Dr. Schwadler's in die Haut-Abtheilung.

Im Jahre 1859 wurde am 1. Mai eine Abtheilung für Augen- und Ohren-Krankheiten unter Dr. H. Althof eröffnet, und Dr. L. Stern aufgenommen. 1860 trat Dr. Goldmark aus. Er war sonst nicht als praktischer Arzt thätig. Ihm gebührt daher die Anerkennung des Verdienstes, gegen seine sonstigen Interessen, den ersten Schuss in unserem Kampfe mitgefeuert, und seine Theilnahme an der Anstalt bis zu seinem Tode, der im vorigen Jahre erfolgte, immer wieder bewiesen zu haben.

1862 wurde Dr. F. Simrock aufgenommen, 1863 C. Lellmann und E. Rosenberg, 1864 Fr. Zinsser, 1866 H. Guleke, 1867 A. Pramann, 1869 Jos. Simrock, L. Bopp, J. Buchser. In diesem Jahre trat auch Dr. L. A. Voss aus dem Dispensary aus, um nach Europa auszuwandern. Als Operateur und chirurgischer Gelehrter war er Krackowizer's würdiger Genosse. Die Anstalt und die Stadt haben an ihm einen tüchtigen Mediciner von entschiedenem Willen und Können verloren. Schwerlich besaßen und besitzen die Vereinigten Staaten einen Chirurgen mit einer umfangreicheren Literaturkenntniss seines Lieblingsfaches, als der seinigen.

1870 nahm das Collegium die folgenden Mitglieder auf: L. Arcularius, Wm. Balser, A. Frank, G. Frauenstein, C. F. Kremer, G. Langmann, J.

Stachelberg, L. Strauss ; 1871 W. Schmidt, L. Conrad, E. Wettengel ; 1872 H. G. Klotz, H. Kahn, G. J. Swerschefky. In demselben Jahre wurde auch die Impf-Abtheilung geschaffen. 1873 von Seyfried ; 1874 H. Kudlich, B. Scharlau, E. Lauer ; 1875 J. Adler ; 1876 J. Rudisch, G. Stein. In diesem Jahre wurde auch die Zahl der Abtheilungen im Dispensary um eine neue, für Nervenkrankheiten, vermehrt. 1877 J. P. Oberndorfer, J. W. Frankl, A. G. Gerster, E. Grüning ; 1878 B. Morjé, F. Serr, A. Seibert ; 1879 A. Friedenberg, A. Caillé, H. Garrigues ; 1880 G. Degner ; 1881 E. Friedenberg, A. Löwenthal, G. W. Jacoby, J. Kucher, H. Heppenheimer, A. Seessel.

Fürwahr, eine stattliche Reihe von Namen, und lassen Sie mich, meine Damen und Herren, hinzufügen, stattlicher Namen. Nicht alle freilich sind uns treu geblieben, einige haben es vorgezogen, ihr Verhältniss freundschaftlich zu lösen, einige, nicht wenige, hat uns der Tod geraubt. Um dieselbe Zeit, als Dr. Goldmark starb, verloren die Anstalten Dr. Herzog, einen der Gründer. Eine grosse Anzahl persönlicher Freunde beklagt sein frühes und plötzliches Scheiden. Auch Dr. Stachelberg starb nach einem kurzen, aber vielversprechenden Dienste in beiden Anstalten, und liess manche trauernden Freunde zurück, welche den ebenso bescheidenen, wie ernsthaft strebenden Arbeiter rasch liebgewonnen hatten.

Indessen wohl uns, wenn der Tod sich mit *der* Ernte allein begnügt hätte. Schauen Sie ein kurzes Jahrzehnt rückwärts. Als im September 1869 das Deutsche Hospital eröffnet wurde, traten die fol-

genden Aerzte gleichzeitig zum Dienst ein : Schilling, der ist todt ; Krackowizer, der ist todt ; Althof, der ist todt ; Kammerer, der ist auch todt ; und E. F. Schwedler. Keiner von ihnen war ein alter Mann als er starb. Das Durchschnittsalter der vier Todten war vielleicht fünfzig Jahre. Keiner von ihnen war der schlechtesten Einer, zwei von ihnen werden wir ewig beklagen, Hospital wie Dispensary. Des Einen Gleichen werden wir nimmer wiedersehen.

Der heutige Tag ist indessen mehr zur Freude über das fünfundzwanzigjährige Leben, als zur Trauer über die Todten bestimmt. Aber vergessen sind nicht, sollen nicht sein Diejenigen, denen ihre Werke nachfolgen. Der arbeitsame Kammerer, der joviale, geistreiche Schilling, der lebenswürdige, sprudelnde, generöse, unermüdliche Althof, und Krackowizer, der reife Mann, der klare Politiker, der grosse Arzt und kühne Chirurg, der treue Freund und joviale Gesellschafter, der nachgiebige Kumpan und eisenfeste Charakter, der Mann von ebenso festen Grundsätzen wie grossem Wissen und Können, der Ritter ohne Furcht und Tadel—alle sind sie in kurzer Zeit nach einander gegangen. Wenn ihre Durchschnittslebensdauer die unsrige sein wird, so mögen manche von uns sich bald bemühen, gewürdigt zu werden wie sie, eine fühlbare Lücke hinter sich zu lassen, und zu Denen zu gehören, um derer willen man gern auch in unserem kleinen Kreise einen Tag des Gräberschmückens feiern darf.

Nun, meine Herren Collegen, lassen Sie mich diese Bemerkungen, meist historischen Inhalts, schliessen, indem ich Ihnen noch einmal meinen

Dank dafür sage, dass Sie mir vergönnt haben, zu reden ; nicht bloß sagen, sondern auch beweisen, freilich nur mit meinen Wünschen. Und meine Wünsche für Sie persönlich, meine Herren Collegen, sind die, dass Sie mit derselben Liebe am Dispensary arbeiten, wie seine ursprünglichen Gründer ; dass Sie—jeder Einzelne—so tüchtige, freudige, humane und wissenschaftliche Collegen haben mögen und besitzen werden, wie ich besessen habe ; dass Sie nach abermals fünfundzwanzig Jahren, oder doch viele von Ihnen, mit derselben Befriedigung nach rückwärts und Hoffnung nach vorwärts schauen, wie Ihre Veteranen ; dass Sie allen wissenschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Vortheil genießen mögen, welchen die Thätigkeit an einer Anstalt, wie die unsrige, mit sich bringt ; dass Sie die früh angebahnte Reputation des Dispensary in noch weitere Kreise ausdehnen ; dass Sie ihm einen geachteten Namen in den Ländern wenigstens zweier Sprachen machen ; dass Sie Ihr Verhältniss zu einander, wissenschaftlich und freundlich, enger und fester knüpfen ; dass Sie Ihre Zusammenkünfte pflegen, Ihre wissenschaftliche Thätigkeit fortsetzen und ein Hort und ein Halt sein mögen für junge Wissenschaftler, welche dem alten Vaterlande den Rücken gekehrt haben, um am kosmopolitischen Bau des neuen zu arbeiten. Alles das wünsche ich Ihnen, alles das erwarte ich von Ihnen, in meinem Namen, im Namen der nicht täglich mehr mit Ihnen verkehrenden, doch durch gemeinschaftliche Interessen und Erinnerungen mit Ihnen verbündeten Veteranen, im Namen, vor Allen, der Geschiedenen und Gestorbenen.

Schliesslich wünsche ich Ihnen noch Eines, nämlich dass es Ihnen immer gelingen möge, einen achtunggebietenden, liberalen, einsichtigen, von Selbstsucht und Eitelkeit freien, aufopfernden Vorstand zu finden, wie wir ihn seit fünfundzwanzig Jahren im Dispensary, seit dreizehn Jahren im Hospital und Dispensary besessen haben. Der verlässlichste Hort der Anstalten waren seine Berather, und kein kleiner Ruhm seine Präsidenten. Männer von Stellung, Ehrenhaftigkeit und aufopfernder Liebe haben vom ersten bis zu diesem Tage unser Banner getragen, unsere Interessen gewahrt. Ferd. Karck (1857), E. A. Oelrichs (1858), G. Schwab (1861), N. K. Rosenfeld (1862), H. Barnstorff (1866), G. Günther (1871), und Willy Wallach (1877) sind aller der Ehren würdig, welche wir, ihre Zeitgenossen, ihnen erweisen konnten, und des Nachruhms, welcher ihnen nicht bestritten werden wird. Der Letztere ist aus voller, vielseitiger, aufopfernder und aufreibender Thätigkeit zur Ruhe gegangen. Meine Herren Collegen, ein warmes Menschenherz, ein rastloses Hirn, ein immer thatbereiter und thatkräftiger Wohlthäter mit einem Auge für das Grösste und Kleinste, das Nahe und Ferne, ist in die schützende Erde versenkt worden, als Willy Wallach begraben wurde, der Krackowizer der Laien.

Und wenn alle meine frommen Wünsche genau, wie ich sie geäussert habe, in Erfüllung gehen sollen—und ich habe Nichts ausgesprochen, das nicht des Begehrens werth und der Erfüllung fähig ist—so habe ich Nichts hinzuzuthun, als den allgemeinen Segen: *Vivat, floreat, crescat!*

Dieses dritte Büchlein, Herr Präsident, beweist,

dass dieser Segen schon in Erfüllung gegangen ist. Es enthält den *“Freibrief und die Gesetze des Deutschen Hospitals und Dispensary in der Stadt New York. Gegründet und mit Freibrief versehen am 13. April 1861.”*

Das Dispensary *hat* gelebt, geblüht, und *ist* gewachsen. Von 132 Canal Street zogen wir am 1. Mai 1863 in das grössere Haus, 8 Ost Dritte Strasse. Eine kleine Spital-Abtheilung von sechs Betten für dringende operative Fälle wurde eingerichtet und bewährte sich unter der Obhut der Aerzte und der aufmerksamen Pflege unseres bis auf den heutigen Tag getreuen Hausmeisters, Herrn Schneider.

Im Jahre 1872 wurde dann schliesslich das Haus 65 St. Marks Place käuflich erworben und das Dispensary, über die alten Räume hinausgewachsen, dahin verlegt. Immer wiederholte sich die That-
sache, dass die an das Dispensary gestellten Anforderungen wuchsen und seine Leistungen zunahmen, bis das Missverhältniss zwischen der zuströmenden Krankenzahl—23,637 Nummern im Jahre 1881—und den zu Gebote stehenden Räumen ein schreiendes wurde. Heute haben wir, Herr Präsident, mit dem Umstande zu rechnen, dass auch in den jetzigen Räumlichkeiten weder den Aerzten, noch den Kranken Gerechtigkeit geschehen kann, und die Nothwendigkeit einzugestehen, dass ein anderes und grösseres Dispensary-Gebäude ein unabweisbares Bedürfniss ist. Das bisherige Wachsthum der vereinigten Anstalten, deren gemeinsames Fest wir heute feiern, und die Existenz des Baues, in welchem wir hier versammelt sind, bürgen dafür dass jenes Bedürfniss bald befriedigt werden wird.

Der Freibrief wurde am 13. April 1861 erworben, die erste Verwaltung am 15. Februar 1862 organisirt. Am 28. October 1868 lieferte das Bau-Com-mittee das neu gebaute Hospital, das jetzige Hauptgebäude, mit leeren Sälen, zu deren Instandsetzung noch 20,000 Dollars nöthig waren, und 44,015 Dollars Schulden, ab. Es war das eine schwere Zeit für den Vorstand. Er hatte sich zu sagen, dass der ursprünglich ausgelegte Plan, welcher auf vier grosse Flügel berechnet war, aufgegeben werden musste. Für 25,800 Dollars wurden in der 76. Strasse sechs Baustellen, vor längerer Zeit erworben, wieder verkauft, und mit dem Erlöse ein Theil der Schulden getilgt. Ein rastloser und unermüdlicher Freund des Hospitals, dessen Name in unserer Geschichte niemals sollte vergessen werden, Herr H. E. Möring, sammelte—wie nur *er* sammeln konnte—11,015 Dollars 40 Cents zum Zweck der Möblirung, und verschaffte uns zehn Freibett-Sub-scriptionen. Und schliesslich wurde am 13. September 1869 die Anstalt für Kranke geöffnet.

Noch beliefen sich die ungedeckten Schulden auf 20,000 Dollars, und für den Betrieb waren keine Mittel vorhanden. Zu beschreiben, mit welchen Schwierigkeiten der Verwaltungsrath fortwährend zu kämpfen hatte, würde nur Der im Stande sein, welcher es übernehmen wollte, manchen der betreffenden Beamten, welche wir noch zu den Unserigen zählen und welche hier gegenwärtig sind, das Zeugniß ungebeugten Muthes, ungebrochener Mannhaftigkeit und starken Vertrauens auszustellen. Aber auch sie wurden gelegentlich schwankend. Wohl erinnern wir uns der schweren Zeit,

welche durch das Geschenk von 50,000 Dollars von Seiten des Freiherrn Friedrich von Diergardt in Viersen gemildert wurde, eine grossartige Gabe, von welcher zehn Freibetten gestiftet und 30,000 Dollars fest angelegt wurden.

Um jene Zeit nagte aber nicht bloss die Armuth am Gedeihen der Anstalt, sondern auch die Elemente schienen sich gegen uns zu verschwören. Die Umgegend war ungesund; die Strassen waren ausgelegt, aber die tiefen Niederungen zwischen den Gevierten waren nicht ausgefüllt und nicht drainirt. So viel Gevierte, so viel Seen von schmutzigem Wasser, oder Niederlassungen von noch schmutzigeren Leuten mit ihren thierischen Genossen. Wechselfieber und verwandte Krankheiten schlugen im Hospital ihre Wohnung auf, Kranke genasen schwerer, contrahirten neue Krankheiten unter unserer Pflege, und Gesunde wurden krank. Dieser Zustand dauerte, bis endlich nach der Ostseite der Insel hin vollständig drainirt wurde, und endigte nicht zu früh. Denn zu der chronischen Armuth der Anstalt, und zu der durch die geschilderten ungünstigen Umstände verminderten Leistungsfähigkeit gesellten sich die schlechten Zeiten und die Lust bei den Publikum, verminderte Leistungen und Unglücksfälle der Anstalt als Schuld anzurechnen und zum Vorwand der Verweigerung von Beisteuern zu benützen. Wer Schaden hat, bekommt den Spott.

Niemals hat eine Anstalt, die nur mit Mühe und Sorge von opferbereiten Männern zum Besten des Publikums unterhalten wurde, mehr üble Nachreden ertragen müssen, als das Schmerzenskind,

das Deutsche Hospital. Wir Deutschen müssen uns leider gestehen, dass wir nicht geneigter sind, gemeinsame Widerwärtigkeit gemeinsam zu tragen, und im Unglück kein Verschulden Anderer zu suchen, als die Mitglieder anderer Nationen.

So kam es denn, dass nicht bloss unsere Krankenzahl von 769 im Jahre 1872 auf 483 im Jahre 1876 fiel, sondern auch die Beiträge zur Kasse viel weniger reichlich flossen. Und dennoch arbeitete der Vorstand und seine Freunde rüstig vorwärts. Gerade in jener Zeit, 1875, wurde der Krackowizer-Pavilion gebaut, um der Ueberfüllung des Hauptgebäudes mit chirurgischen Fällen und gefährlichen Wundkrankheiten entgegen zu arbeiten.

Allein weder diese Leistung, noch das schliessliche Gedeihen der Anstalt wären möglich gewesen ohne die Sympathie von Genossenschaften und Personen, welchen, ausser den schon genannten Wohlthätern, wir zu ewigem Dank verpflichtet sind. Um die Zeit der Gründung dieses Hospitals entfaltete der Frauenhilfsverein eine segensreiche Thätigkeit. Seinen Bemühungen verdankte die Anstalt im Jahre 1871 einen Staatszuschuss von fünf tausend Dollars. Um jene Zeit regte sich auch Theilnahme für uns in manchen deutschen Vereinen der Stadt und Umgegend, welche im verdienten Umfange nicht vergessen werden soll.

Im Jahre 1872 brachte uns ein Weihnachtsbazar 9,000 Dollars, und eine Special-Collecte im Jahre 1881 lieferte 27,000 Dollars. Ungefähr die gleiche Summe lieferte der Wissenschaft und Humanität die Kunst; seit langer Zeit beglückt Herr Adolph Neuendorff—Ehre seinem Namen—das Hospital

mit dem jedesmal reichlichen Ertrage einer jährlichen Theatervorstellung. Auch anderer Namen haben wir zu gedenken: Hotop, Gerster, Geistinger, Joseffy, Hermann und Amberg verdienen einen Ehrenplatz in der Reihe unserer Wohlthäter. Bis zum Jahre 1880 waren auch der jährliche "Hospital-Samstag und Sonntag" einige Zeit die Quelle eines mässigen Einkommens. Im Jahre 1876 wurde der Frauenverein gegründet, dessen Mitgliederzahl im Jahre 1881 bis auf 160 answoll, und dessen Bemühungen um unsere Einrichtung und die Herstellung einer sinnigen Weihnachtsbescheerung für unsere Kranken noch mehr herzlichen Dank verdienen, als seine bedeutenden Geldausgaben allein erobern könnten. Nicht minder soll der Bereitwilligkeit der Stifterin und Insassen der Isabella-Heimath gedacht werden, in welcher ein grosser Theil der Näharbeiten für unsere Anstalt kostenfrei besorgt wurde.

Nur durch solche thätige und ausserordentliche Hülfe, neben den mehr oder weniger regelmässig einlaufenden Beiträgen, war es möglich, dass das Hospital sich von dem Brandschaden des 31. December 1871 rasch erholen konnte, und dass es im Stande war, den Krackowizer-Pavilion im Jahre 1875 und das neue Leichenhaus und die Isolirräume im Jahre 1880 zu erbauen. Die letzteren sind, so klein sie sind, von unberechenbarem Nutzen gewesen. Von 7 meist schweren Diphtheriefällen des Jahres 1881 haben wir keinen, von 4 Erysipelas nur einen, von 33 Typhen nur 3 eingeblüsst. Solcher ausserordentlichen Hülfe haben wir es auch zuzuschreiben, dass wir im Jahre 1880 976, im Jahre

1881 1,244 Kranke beherbergen konnten. Wollen Sie dabei der Thatsache nicht vergessen, dass von diesen 1,244 Kranken 940 frei, 145 theilweise frei, und nur 159 gegen Zahlung verpflegt worden sind. Vielleicht wird dabei der fernere Umstand für die humane und rücksichtsvolle Behandlung im Hospital sprechen, dass die Durchschnittsdauer der Verpflegung zahlender Kranker sich auf je $22\frac{2}{3}$, diejenige nicht zahlender auf je $26\frac{2}{3}$ Tage belaufen hat.

Allmählich werden übrigens die Tendenzen und Leistungen der Anstalt bereitwillig anerkannt. Manche, welche unser während ihres Lebens kaum oder nicht gedachten, haben uns ihre Theilnahme nach ihrem Tode bewiesen. An Vermächtnissen sind uns bis zum Ende des Jahres 1880 ungefähr 90,000 Dollars zugefallen. Natürlich werden Beiträge der Art sich mehren. Mit der wachsenden Popularität der Anstalt und mit der sich verbreitenden Kenntniss des Nutzens des Dispensary und Hospitals wird kaum noch ein Deutscher seine letztwilligen Verfügungen treffen, ohne dieser Anstalten sich zu erinnern.

Und nun zum Schlusse, verehrte Versammlung, noch einmal von den Todten zurück zum vollen Leben.

Der Jahresbericht von 1879 klagt folgendermassen:

“ Wir waren nicht im Stande, die einzelnen Säle auch nur auf kurze Zeit gänzlich zu leeren, um sie gründlich zu desinficiren, und müssen es bedauern, dass in dem einen Saale für Frauen und Kinder Wundkranke und an inneren Krankheiten Leidende zugleich untergebracht sind. Es wäre demnach eine grosse Wohlthat, wenn ein hochherziger

Menschenfreund einen Pavillon für an chirurgischen Krankheiten leidende Frauen stiften würde, wie wir einen solchen für Männer besitzen.”

Derjenige von 1880 berichtet: “Wir dürfen wohl schon jetzt verkünden, dass sich ein hochherziger Menschenfreund gefunden hat, der schon in diesem Jahre dem Hospitale einen Neubau hinzufügen wird, in welchem fünfzig Kranke, Frauen und Kinder, Aufnahme finden können.”

In demjenigen von 1881 heisst es über den Namen P. Balluff, Theo. Kilian und Dr. E. F. Schwedler, folgendermassen: “Kein Jahr in der Geschichte des Deutschen Hospitals war so reich an Segen, wie das verwichene, keine Zeit so reich an entgegengebrachtem Vertrauen und hilfsbereiter Unterstützung, wie das gegenwärtige! Liegt nicht für diese Behauptung der glänzendste Beweis in der hochherzigen Stiftung der Frau Anna Ottendorfer? Nach jahrelanger reiflicher Prüfung und fortgesetzter persönlicher Einsicht in die Verwaltung des Hospitals, hat sie nicht angestanden, dasselbe als eine Muster-Anstalt zu bezeichnen, und im verlossenen Jahre dem Verwaltungsrathe eine Summe von 68,000 Dollars zur Verfügung gestellt, zur Erbauung nicht nur, sondern auch zur Einrichtung eines Frauenhospitals für fünfzig Kranke. Das Gebäude geht seiner Vollendung entgegen, und bald wird es dem Verwaltungsrathe zur Freude gereichen, die Deutschen New York's zur Besichtigung des Neubaus einzuladen, der ein glorreiches Denkmal edler Menschenliebe und zugleich ein hellleuchtender Markstein in der Geschichte des Deutschen Hospitals sein wird.”

Diese Einladung nun, meine Damen und Herren, ist für den heutigen Nachmittag erfolgt, und die glänzende Versammlung beweist, in welchem Geiste dieselbe aufgenommen worden ist, und bezeugt, dass der Abschluss des ersten Vierteljahrhunderts des Dispensary zugleich der Beginn einer neuen Aera des Hospitals ist. Unter Ihnen ist Niemand, der nicht schon früher, und oft, den Anstalten seine werktthätige Hülfe geschenkt hat. Ihre Gegenwart bei diesem Feste versichert uns Ihrer Theilnahme und Bereitschaft für die Zukunft. Sie beweist von Neuem, dass die Anstalten der deutschen Bevölkerung an's Herz gewachsen sind, und dass sie, wie die Deutsche Gesellschaft, welche sich auf ihr hundertjähriges Jubiläum vorbereitet, als die umfassendste und der allgemeinen Theilnahme würdigste Humanitätsanstalt angesehen wird. Ich wage kaum, Ihnen, oder irgend Einem oder Einer von Ihnen, ein Wort des Dankes zu sagen. Wer Segen spendet, thut es nicht des Dankes wegen, und Humanität trägt ihren Lohn im Gedeihen des Erstrebten und im eigenen Bewusstsein. Möge dieser doppelte Segen nicht ausbleiben, so lange noch Deutsche dem alten Vaterlande den Rücken kehren müssen, um in dieser unserer neuen Heimath freie Luft zum Athmen und freien Boden zur Bethätigung ihrer Kräfte zu suchen. Möge es leben und blühen und wachsen, das Deutsche Dispensary und Hospital!

FESTREDE

ZUR EINWEIHUNG DES VON FRAU ANNA OTTENDORFER
ERBAUTEN NEUEN DEUTSCHEN DISPENSARY,
137 2. AVENUE.*

Herr Ottendorfer, Herr Präsident und meine Herren vom Verwaltungsrath, hochverehrte Anwesende, meine Herren Collegen.

Das Alterthum zeichnete sich durch Gastfreundschaft aus; den Hellenen war der Fremde stets willkommen; zweifach, wenn er erkrankt war. Der kranke und arme Stammgenosse fand bereitwillige Aufnahme im Hause des Reichen. So kam es, dass kollektive und systematische Krankenpflege im alten Griechenland nicht geübt wurde. Nur die auf dem Schlachtfelde Verwundeten erfreuten sich der Pflege und Behandlung auf öffentliche Kosten schon zu den Zeiten des Solon. Auch die Römer hatten keine öffentlichen Krankenanstalten für die Bürger. Nach dem Zeugnisse von Columella, Seneca und Celsus gab es jedoch Hospitäler für Sklaven, Krieger und Gladiatoren. Ein geregelter ärztlicher Dienst existirte auch bei den Armeen des Julius Cäsar.

Unter den Hebräern gab es wohl Regeln und Vorschriften für die Reichen, welchen die Sorge für die Armen und Kranken zur Aufgabe gemacht

* Staats-Zeitung 1884.

wurde, aber keine Krankenanstalten, welche mit unseren Hospitälern oder Polikliniken Aehnlichkeit haben. Nur der Buddhismus, unter dessen Lehren die Krankenpflege die heiligste Verpflichtung der Fürsten und Könige war, baute frühzeitig Hospitäler. Ein König in Ceylon gründete ein Krankenhaus im fünften Jahrhundert vor Christus. Einer seiner Nachkommen im zweiten Jahrhundert organisirte deren achtzehn, mit regelmässiger ärztlicher Bedienung. In Ostindien werden solche Anstalten aus dem dritten Jahrhundert vor Christus erwähnt. Erst im zweiten Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung gründeten die Christen ähnliche, und zwar in Kleinasien und Persien, wo das Bedürfniss nach denselben durch die buddhistischen Einwohner geweckt worden war. Auch aus dem vierten und sechsten Jahrhundert sind Nachrichten von solchen Anstalten auf uns gekommen; es ist aber wahrscheinlich, dass die meisten derselben nicht Hospitäler im eigentlichen Sinne waren, sondern Hospitien, Pflegestätten für die Pilger auf ihrer Wallfahrt nach Rom. Die grössten und besten Spitäler besaßen aber die Araber, um das Jahr 1200. Cordova allein soll deren fünfzig gezählt haben. Auch anderen civilisirten Ländern fehlten sie nicht; Prescott erzählt, dass die Mexikaner Krankenhäuser besaßen, als die Spanier Tortur und Inquisition bei ihnen einführten.

Im späteren Mittelalter, besonders von der Zeit der Kreuzzüge an, gewann die Krankenpflege unter den Christen eine bedeutende Ausdehnung. Die zahlreichen Orden, welche dieselbe übten, waren zum Theil geistlich, zum Theil weltlich. Die soge-

nannten Hospitalbrüder, eine Genossenschaft weltlicher Vereine, wurde von italienischen und deutschen Kaufleuten gegründet. Allein nicht alle Vereine der Art widmeten sich der Krankenpflege in den Hospitälern, es gab auch solche, deren Mitglieder die Kranken in ihren Häusern aufsuchten, die zahlreichen auf den Strassen Umgekommenen begruben, die Findlinge aufnahmen. Alle aber lehnten sich an religiöse Genossenschaften an, oder fielen, wo sie nicht durch Reichthum entarteten und in Wohlleben und Wüstheit untergingen, der Oberhoheit der Kirche anheim. Diese beiden Veränderungen und die Thatsache, dass die Reformation die Kirchengüter in die ausgestreckten Hände der protestantisch werdenden Fürsten Deutschland's überlieferte, beeinträchtigte den ursprünglichen Endzweck der Pflegegenossenschaften in hohem Grade. Was schliesslich die Reformation übrig liess, verschlangen die Kriege. Obendrein vernichteten sie gründlich die hinreichend geringe Achtung, welche in jenen Jahrhunderten dem Menschenleben gezollt wurde.

Uebrigens war die einzige organisirte Krankenpflege, von welcher wir aus jener Zeit Kunde haben, das eigentliche Hospitalwesen. Von eigentlicher Hauskrankenpflege, oder einer ambulanten oder poliklinischen Unterstützung und Behandlung der Kranken ausserhalb der Hospitäler, haben wir keine Kenntniss. Erst im Jahre 1559—so wird in Sattler's Geschichte von Württemberg erzählt—errichtete die Frau des Herzogs Christoph in ihrem Schlosse zu Stuttgart eine Apotheke, aus welcher die Armen ihre Arzneien unentgeltlich bezogen.

Aehnliches berichtet Letzner (1596) für das Jahr 1560 von der Frau des Philipp II. von Grubenhagen, einer braunschweiger Prinzessin, und Spittler von der Herzogin von Braunschweig im Jahre 1568, und der sächsischen Churfürstin Anna bei Dresden (einer dänischen Prinzessin) 1581. Diese Einrichtung wurde von Hedwig, der Frau Christian II., im Jahre 1609 erneuert. Bekannt ist auch, dass die Klöster gelegentlich den Kranken und Armen—ein fast identischer Ausdruck überall da, wo die Klöster reich waren—Arzneien verabfolgten, auch dass einzelne reiche Städte sogenannte Stadtärzte zu dem Zwecke unterhielten. Von Zürich wird z. B. berichtet, dass für die den kranken Stadtarmen geleisteten Dienste der Stadtarzt Holz und Wein geliefert erhielt, und dass ihm die verabfolgten Arzneien von dem Gemeinwesen bezahlt wurden.

In England wurde gegen das Ende des siebenzehnten Jahrhunderts den armen Kranken in geschäftsmässiger Weise die zweifelhaften Wohthaten medicinischer Leistungen in der Weise verabfolgt, wie sie es aus den Spalten der täglichen Blätter New Yorks noch heute in den Anzeigen der fälschlich so genannten "Heilinstitute," korrekt so genannten Quacksalber, und der andern noch nicht Ueberführten und Verurtheilten erfahren können. Die Apotheker nämlich, welche zu jener Zeit noch nicht die Waffenruhe, welche heute zwischen ihnen und den regelmässigen Aerzten herrscht, oder zu herrschen scheint, eingegangen waren, gaben ihren Rath gratis, und ihre Medicin für Geld. Die letztere wurde also unbedenklich für das wichtigere

gehalten. Der Meinung waren auch die incorporirten Aerzte, welche sich gegen jene Praxis auflehnten, weil die Apotheker der ärztlichen Kenntnisse baar seien. Dagegen machten wieder die Apotheker geltend, dass die Armen nicht im Stande seien, die Preise der Aerzte zu bezahlen, und ein unbezahlter Rath galt auch damals für wohlfeiler, als ein bezahlter. Da beschloss das *College of Physicians and Surgeons* im Jahre 1687, dass alle seine Mitglieder die Armen ihrer Nachbarschaft umsonst behandeln sollten. Dieser Schritt versetzte die Apotheker in grosse sittliche Entrüstung, das Publikum witterte Unheil in diesem Anerbieten, das unerhört und nie dagewesen sei, und die öffentliche Meinung erklärte, dass nur der Rath der Apotheker unentgeltliches Abgeben rechtfertige, und dass es bei dem unentgeltlichen Rath und dem Profit aus der Medicin zu verbleiben habe. Aber dieses Mal waren sogar die Aerzte einer Schwierigkeit gewachsen. In ihrem Laboratorium in Warwick Lane verabreichten sie den Kranken und Armen die Arzneien zum Kostenpreis, nachdem sie ihren jedesmaligen Rath unentgeltlich ertheilt hatten. Aber damit war die Sache nicht erledigt. Ein bitterer Federkrieg entbrannte, an dem die grössten und kleinsten Lichter sich zu Gunsten der einen oder der andern der Parteien theiligten. Die bekannteren Dichter jener Zeit waren auf Seite der gebildeteren Aerzte. Sir Samuel Garth lieferte ein Gedicht in sechs Gesängen, "The Dispensary," Pope dichtete zu Gunsten der klassisch Gebildeten, und bei Dryden kommt die gegen die Apotheker gerichtete Stelle vor:

Ein Recept ist wie das andere, und die Wirkung einerlei.
Nehmt doch, liebe Leute, nehmt doch, findet Euren Tod
dabei.*

Wiederum im Jahre 1694 erliess das College ein Edikt, nach welchem den Armen, welche um Rath vorsprachen, derselbe ohne Bezahlung zu gewähren sei, und um den Zweck besser zu erreichen, besteuerten sich im Jahre 1696 dreiundfünfzig Aerzte in London jeder mit zehn Pfund. Die Schwierigkeiten waren aber damit noch lange nicht zu Ende. Die Apotheker kündigten an, dass sie die armen Kranken auch in ihren Häusern umsonst besuchen würden. Das geschah, bis bald einer derselben wegen tödtlicher Kurpfuscherei an einem Metzger unter Anklage gestellt wurde. Dreimal processirt, wurde er dreimal verurtheilt, bis Appellation an das Oberhaus schliesslich wiederum gegen die Doktoren entschied. Seither wurde dann für die Errichtung eines wirklichen Dispensary in unserem Sinne agirt, bis schliesslich das *Royal General Dispensary*, im Anschluss an das alte St. Bartholomew Hospital, freilich erst im Jahre 1770, gegründet wurde.

Diesem folgten, sämmtlich aus freiwilligen Beiträgen gegründet, in den nächsten zwanzig Jahren noch neun, welche noch alle in jährlich zunehmender Thätigkeit sind.

Von London aus verbreiteten sich Dispensaries über ganz Grossbritannien. In Irland bestanden im Jahre 1836 schon 494 Dispensary-Einrichtungen mannigfacher Art, welche zum grössten Theil ihre

* From random files a recipe they take,
And many deaths with one prescription make.

Existenz der Parlamentsakte vom Jahre 1805 verdanken. Dieselbe verordnete deren Gründung nach Counties und Distrikten. Die grossen Landeigenthümer aber, deren es in manchem Distrikte nur einen oder wenige gab, und zu deren Aufgaben die Gründung und Unterhaltung des betreffenden Dispensary gehört haben würde, entzogen sich gern ihren Verpflichtungen und lebten sogar vielfach ausser Landes. Als indessen die Verordnungen verschärft wurden, wuchs die Zahl der Dispensary-Distrikte in den zweiunddreissig Counties von Irland auf 718.

Nach englischem Vorbilde wurde das erste Dispensary in Paris im Jahr 1803 gegründet. Die Philanthropische Gesellschaft gründete deren mit einem Male fünf. Ihr Beispiel fand in kurzer Zeit in Lyons, Besançon, Nantes, Caën, Montpellier und Marseilles Nachahmung.

Die drei ersten grossen Dispensaries in den Vereinigten Staaten wurden gegen das Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts errichtet; das Philadelphier im Jahre 1786 (1796 incorporirt); das New Yorker am 4. Januar 1791 (am 8. April 1795 incorporirt); das Bostoner im Jahre 1796 (1801 incorporirt). Das New Yorker Dispensary befand sich damals in dem südöstlichen Winkel der, vielen Aelteren von uns noch wohlbekannten Backsteinkirche an der Ecke der Beekman- und Nassaustrasse. Im December 1829 wurde es an seinen jetzigen Platz, an die Ecke von White- und Centrestrasse, verlegt.

Dem New York Dispensary folgten das Northern in Waverley Place im Jahre 1827 (am 28. November 1828 incorporirt); das Eastern am 25. April 1832,

Demilt in März 1851, das North-Western (damals in No. 511 Achte Avenue) im Jahre 1852, das Deutsche Dispensary 1857, das North-Eastern (damals an der Ecke der 51. Strasse und Lexington Avenue, jetzt in der Ost 59. Strasse) im Jahre 1859. Die Zahl ähnlicher Anstalten hat sich seither bedeutend vermehrt. Im Berichte des Staats-Gesundheitsrathes wurden vor einigen Jahren für den Staat neunundvierzig namhaft gemacht; von denselben befinden sich in der Stadt neunundzwanzig. Uebrigens sind diese nicht die einzigen Anstalten, in welchen der arme Kranke unentgeltlichen Rath erlangen kann. So bemühen sich z. B. die mannigfachen ärztlichen Lehranstalten um ihr eigenes und der Kranken Heil in mitunter zu löblichem Grade.

Ueber das Deutsche Dispensary, in Verbindung mit dem Deutschen Hospital, habe ich die Ehre gehabt, am 27. Mai 1882 vor Ihnen eine Rückschau zu halten. Seit jener Zeit hat sich im Bestande und der Thätigkeit desselben nicht Vieles geändert. Statt des Herrn J. T. Hanemann führt seit einiger Zeit Herr Th. Kilian, der lang erprobte Vicepräsident, den Vorsitz. Zu den ärztlichen Kräften hat sich im Juli 1882 Herr Vetter als Zahnarzt gesellt. In demselben Jahre wurden die Doktoren C. F. Kremer und J. W. Gleitsmann, 1883 E. Schottky, 1884 J. Schmitt, A. Schapringer, F. Lange und J. Scheider als wirkliche Mitglieder aufgenommen. Herr Dr. Mechtold fungirt seit zehn Monaten als Mitarbeiter. Im Jahre 1883 trat Herr Dr. Löwenthal aus dem Verbande aus. In die kleine überlebende Zahl der ärztlichen Gründer hat der Tod

keine weiteren Lücken gerissen, wohl aber beklagt das Dispensary das jähe Hinscheiden des Doktor J. W. Frankl, der in der Blüthe seiner Jahre, zwei- undvierzig Jahre alt, verstarb. Ein guter College, ein unterrichteter Mediciner, ein treuer Arzt ist dem Dispensary an ihm verloren gegangen.

Trotz der Gründung eines neuen deutschen Dispensary in der unmittelbarsten Nachbarschaft des unsrigen sind die Ansprüche an das letztere auch in diesen Jahren stetig gewachsen. Im Jahre 1882 belief sich die Krankenzahl auf 24,943, 1883 auf 26,668, darunter 4,189 Kinder.

Das rasche Entstehen und Gedeihen so zahlreicher Anstalten führt den Beweis enormer Fortschritte im ethischen Bewusstsein der besseren Menschen. Vor fast hundert Jahren, als die ersten Dispensaries gegründet wurden, war das religiöse Gefühl nicht mehr mächtig genug gewesen, sich der Armen und Verlassenen anzunehmen. Die einzige öffentliche Krankenanstalt in New York war das New York Hospital. Auch dieses war so wenig seiner öffentlichen Dienste wegen geachtet oder verehrt, dass das Sichtbarwerden eines menschlichen Gliedes an einem Fenster desselben im April 1788 zu einem blutigen Auflauf, dem "Doctor's Mob," Gelegenheit gab, während dessen eine Anzahl hervorragender Bürger, darunter John Jay und Baron Steuben, von den Unholden verletzt wurden. Der physische und moralische Zustand der grossen Masse, sogar in einer Stadt, welche vor hundert Jahren nur 23,000 Einwohner hatte, war so verkommen, dass nur diejenigen vielleicht sich eine Idee davon machen können, welche

sich jenes Juliriots im Jahre 1863 erinnern. Und wer die peinlich genaue Beschreibung von McMasters über gewisse soziale Zustände gelesen hat, kann seine Bewunderung den Aerzten und Laien nicht versagen, welche die ersten Dispensaries im Dienste der armen Kranken errichteten. Seit jener Zeit aber hat sich das humanistische Bewusstsein und Pflichtgefühl in gleichem Schritt mit der Zunahme des Wissens entwickelt, das Gefühl der gegenseitigen Verpflichtung und Solidarität Wurzel gefasst und das Dispensarywesen als eines der Ausgleichungsmittel sozialer und physischer Ungleichheiten sich ausgebildet.

Welche Stelle nimmt nun ein Dispensary ein, und was ist seine Bedeutung und Aufgabe? Ist es einfach ein Platz, an welchem Du, wie Dickens sagt, "Medicin bekommst in deinen eigenen Flaschen"? Ein Dispensary in unserem amerikanischen Sinne ist nicht eine poliklinische Anstalt wie an deutschen Universitäten, vorzugsweise dem Unterricht und in zweiter Linie erst dem Interesse des Kranken geweiht, sondern ein Institut, von wohlthätigen Bürgern gegründet und unterhalten, von wohlthätigen und wissenschaftlichen Aerzten unentgeltlich Tag für Tag und Jahr für Jahr besorgt, in welchem arme Kranke freien Zutritt, freie Behandlung, und wenn nöthig, freie Arznei erhalten. Manche Dispensaries bezahlen ausserdem Aerzte, welche die Hausbehandlung armer Kranken zu besorgen haben. Aber nicht blos die Kranken werden behandelt, sondern auch die Gesunden geschützt.

Nach keiner Richtung lässt sich zum Beispiel der

direkte Gesundheit befördernde und Krankheit vernichtende Einfluss der Dispensaries besser nachweisen, als dadurch, dass man die Sterblichkeit vor und nach der Einführung der Kuhpockenimpfung vergleicht, welche von den Dispensaries, mit oder ohne Billigung der Gesetzgebungen ausgeführt wurde. Dieselbe stiess in New York auf grosse Hindernisse. Man opponirte ihr aus moralischen, religiösen und physiologischen Gründen. Da organisirten im Januar 1802 einige Bürger der Stadt *The New York Institution for the Inoculation of the Kine-pock*, mit der ausgesprochenen Absicht, durch die Kuhpockenimpfung die Blatternimpfung zu verdrängen. Am 19. August erhielten sie nach vorausgegangener Weigerung die Erlaubniss, alle im Armenhause unterhaltenen Paupers, welche noch nicht die Pocken gehabt hatten, zu impfen, und die fernere Erlaubniss zur Errichtung eines Gebäudes, um Vaccine zu bewahren.

Die grössten Fortschritte machte die Vaccinationsbewegung von Philadelphia aus. Die Aerzte Rush, Dewees, Wistar und fünfzig andere veröffentlichten im April 1803 ein Circular zu Gunsten der Viehpockenimpfung. Im Juni desselben Jahres geschah dasselbe im Boston Dispensary (obgleich erst am 6. März 1810 die Kuhpockenimpfung auf öffentliche Kosten in Massachusetts gesetzlich eingeführt wurde), und im Jahre 1805 übernahm das New York Dispensary die Rechte und Pflichten der obengenannten Kuhpocken-Gesellschaft. Dasselbe ist seiner Aufgabe stets treu und in der Ausführung seiner selbst übernommenen Pflichten gleich gewissenhaft geblieben. Die Statistik der Abnahme der

Todesfälle von Blattern, und das zeitweilige, mitunter fast vollständige Verschwinden der früher so tödtlichen Krankheit beweist, bis zu welchem Grade dasselbe, und alle seine Nachfolger und Mitarbeiter, segensreich gewirkt haben.

Nun ist also die Aufgabe der Dispensaries eine einfache, ihr Zweck ein heiliger, ihre Verwaltung gewiss keine sehr complicirte, und doch haben sich in dieselbe seit langer Zeit Missgriffe eingeschlichen. Das Bestreben der Verwaltungsräthe und Aerzte, möglichst viel, und Vielen, Gutes zu stiften, Anerkennung vor der Welt zu gewinnen, die pekuniäre Unterstützung zu erlangen, welche durch die Accisefonds und die Sonntagskollekten für die Hospitäler im Verhältniss zu der Zahl der Behandelten gewährt wird, und Material für den Unterricht oder das Selbststudium zu erobern, haben dazu geführt, dass der Umstand übersehen wurde, dass Institute der Art nur den wirklich Bedürftigen zu gute kommen sollten. Ein Lehrinstitut hiesiger Stadt ist sogar so weit gegangen, grosse Plakate an Strassenecken und Aschenkisten anzuschlagen, auf denen das Publikum auf die Leichtigkeit, Sicherheit und Schnelligkeit ärztlicher Hülfeleistung an gewisser Stelle aufmerksam gemacht wird. Wenn auch nicht jede Anstalt gewissenlos und geschmacklos genug ist, um Aehnliches zu thun, so ist doch die Thatsache wohl bekannt, dass die überaus zahlreichen Institute, in denen ärztlicher Rath frei zu haben ist, viel zu der Leichtigkeit beigetragen haben, Dienste ohne Würdigkeit oder ohne Entgelt zu erlangen. Es ist Jedem von uns bekannt, dass Armeninstitute von Wohlhabenden besucht und

ausgebeutet werden. Dass den Aerzten damit eine Unbill geschieht, ist das kleinere Uebel. Der grosse Nachtheil, welcher durch solche Praxis geschaffen und verewigt wird, ist die Demoralisation eines grossen Theiles des Publikums. Der wohlbekannte Umstand, dass in der Regel nur tüchtige Aerzte die Anstalten besorgen, ist eine grosse Versuchung für Unberechtigte, sich der leicht zu erlangenden Vortheile zu bedienen, den Mantel der Armuth lügenhaft umzuhängen, sich daran zu gewöhnen, grosse Dienste ohne irgend welche Gegenleistung entgegenzunehmen, und dem grossen republikanischen Grundsatz der Selbstachtung und Selbsthilfe fremd zu werden. Sich dienen zu lassen ohne Gegendienst, zu kaufen ohne zu zahlen, zeugt von Egoismus, Betrug und Bedientengesinnung, und erzeugt sie. Ich fürchte sehr, dass neben der Leichtigkeit, physische Gesundheit zu erlangen, die moralische Gesundheit verloren gehe. Diese Befürchtung ist denjenigen nicht theoretisch, welche unser Krankenunterstützungswesen und den Betrieb vieler Anstalten aus Erfahrung kennen. Wir Alle haben Sammt- und Seidenkleider in den Wartesälen gesehen, wohlhabende Menschen gekannt und ertappt, welche zum Zweck des Betruges sich in armselige Gewandung steckten, haben uns im Falle der Ueberführung die grobe Schmeichelei müssen gefallen lassen, dass man hergekommen sei, "weil hier die besten Aerzte seien," haben auch rohes Benehmen von den Ueberführten und Abgewiesenen in den Kauf nehmen müssen. Schwer ist es, Kontrolle zu führen, aber der Versuch der Kontrolle ist schon der Mühe werth. Von Anfang

an war es in diesem Dispensary Sitte, die Unbefugten fern zu halten, um den Befugten die ganze verfügbare Zeit und Arbeitskraft geben zu können, und ich weiss, dass die jetzige Generation der Aerzte von ähnlichen Grundsätzen sich leiten lässt. Glücklicherweise ist es nicht so sehr schwer, im Deutschen Dispensary denselben nachzuleben. An Patienten ist kein Mangel, "Material" ist reichlich vorhanden. Ohne anderes Mittel, als dasjenige ehrlicher Arbeit, haben die Aerzte der Anstalt die Zahl der Zuströmenden sich von Jahr zu Jahr mehren sehen; ohne Vergrösserung der ärztlichen Kräfte wird sogar die Bewältigung der Arbeit nicht zu erreichen sein; und eine strenge Disciplin in Bezug auf die Auswahl der zu Bedienenden muss sich durchführen lassen, zu Aller Heil, dem physischen und *moralischen*. Das letzte schlage ich nicht zum mindesten an.

Ich bin der Ueberzeugung, dass das Deutsche Dispensary zu dem letzteren auch in anderer Weise so viel beigetragen hat, wie zu dem ersteren. Wie eine Armenanstalt gleich der unsrigen die zahlungsfähigen Hülfesuchenden demoralisiren kann und muss, so hebt sie das Sicherheits- und Selbstgefühl der wirklich Hülfbedürftigen. Das Bewusstsein, einer Gemeinschaft anzugehören, welche seine Menschenrechte anerkennt und zu rechter Zeit und in rechter Weise helfend eingreift, gibt dem Armen das Gefühl des Eigenwerthes und des Bürgerthums. Was die berechtigten und utopistischen Satzungen und Pläne sozialistischer und kommunistischer Prediger verlangt haben, verwirklichen Sie, meine Herren Collegen, auf Ihrem Gebiete, indem Sie

neidlos, pünktlich, unentgeltlich Ihre Zeit und Ihr Wissen dem allgemeinen Wohle opfern.

Dem allgemeinen Wohle ! Wohl ist jeder Dienst, welchen Sie leisten, ein einzelner, aber es sind fast dreissig Tausende jährlich, denen Sie als Körperschaft dienen. Ist es noch nöthig, dem Publikum zu erklären, worin dieselben bestehen ? Dass Sie des Einzelnen Körperschmerz lindern, ist eine grosse Wohlthat ; dass Sie sein Leben retten, ein grosser Segen für ihn. Wie viel Sie damit Andern leisten, die Ihnen unsichtbar hinter dem stehen, wissen Sie fast nie. Was sie aber wissen, was Jeder wissen soll, der noch nie darüber nachgedacht und nie seine Tasche Ihrem kärglichen Fonds geöffnet hat, ist dies, dass Sie die Krankwardenden vor schwerer Krankheit durch zeitiges Eingreifen bewahren, dass Sie durch guten Rath der Krankheitswiederholung vorbeugen, dass Sie dem Armen die Nothwendigkeit des Zeitverlustes in langer Krankheit, des Aufzehrens kärglicher Ersparnisse, verhüten, und dem Aufenthalt in einem Hospital und der Zersplitterung der Familie vorbeugen. Und viele sind die Fälle, in denen nachweislich und bestimmt das Leben und die Gesundheit durch Ihre Bemühungen erhalten bleibt. Für die arme Familie ist beides von noch grösserem Werthe als für die reiche. Den Ernährer zu erhalten, heisst nicht bloss die von ihm Abhängigen in verhältnissmässiger Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit erhalten, sondern auch den Durchschnitt nationalen Wohlstandes vor dem Sinken bewahren. Mit der Rettung der Gesundheit retten wir den Einzelnen und die Familie vor Armuth, vor Versuchung, vor Ver-

gehen, vor Verbrechen. Wohl ist die deutsche Moralstatistik in diesem Lande gut. Wenn sie gut bleibt, so ist das nicht zum kleinsten Theil die Frucht der Arbeit der wohlthätigen Aerzte. Wohl uns, wohl dem deutschen Publikum New Yorks, dass ihre Zahl seit siebenundzwanzig Jahren stetig zugenommen hat. Sie aber werden sich Ihrer grossen Aufgabe stets bewusst sein.

Wohl sind Ihre Leistungen nöthig. Vor siebenundzwanzig Jahren wurde die Gründung eines deutschen Dispensary durch die Thatsache gerechtfertigt, dass es sehr viele Einwanderer gebe, welche durch Unkenntniss der Landessprache und der Verhältnisse und durch ihre importirte Armuth auf die Unterstützung deutschredender Landsleute angewiesen seien. Die Zahl solcher Bedürftigen hat sich seither in mehr als dem Verhältnisse der Zunahme der Bevölkerung vergrössert. Die Lebensverhältnisse sind complizirter geworden, das Abstreifen der Armuth schwieriger, das Interim der Eingewanderten bis zum Selbstständigwerden und zur Unabhängigkeit länger. Die erste Generation deutscher Einwanderung hat einen harten Kampf. Der grosse Ocean wäscht weder die Armuth der Verhältnisse hinweg, noch fegt es die Linien gewohnten Sorgens aus den gefurchten oder gedrückten Mienen. Unter den Ungezählten, welche stundenlang schweigend und trauernd in rascher Folge einen letzten Blick auf die verblichenen Züge einer grossen verstorbenen Wohlthäterin unser Aller zu werfen kamen, waren viele fadenscheinige Kleider, denen man es ansah, dass sie doch der Träger bester Putz waren, und viele Ge-

sichter, denen Sorge und Kummer das Siegel aufgedrückt hatten. Die deutschen Aerzte werden noch viel zu rathen und zu helfen haben im Dienste der Einzelnen und zum Besten der Gesammtheit, wie sie es bisher gethan, auch ohne dass es besonderer Veranlassung bedarf. Denn um den Arzt zu fühlender und mitleidiger Einzelleistung zu bewegen, bedarf es nicht, dass krampfiges Weh, selbst erlebtes, ihm die Seele bewegt zu Gunsten des Leidenden; um ihn zum Bewusstsein seiner Berufs- und Bürgerpflicht zu stählen, bedarf es nur der Liebe zum Beruf und zu den Menschen. Hippokrates wusste schon, dass wo Liebe zu der ärztlichen Kunst sie, da sei auch Liebe zu den Menschen. Die klassische Erziehung des deutschen Gelehrten und das amerikanische Bürgerthum des deutschen Arztes lassen ihn ihre Aufgabe erkennen und zeichnen ihre Verwirklichung vor.

Nicht gering also schlage ich die Bedeutung des deutschen Arztes in Amerika und dieses Dispensary's in seinen Leistungen gegenüber den armen Eingewanderten darin an, dass er sie zu Bürgern erziehen hilft. Er leistet ihnen die ersten dringendsten Dienste, hält sie arbeitsfähig, erwirbt ihnen die Möglichkeit sich selbst zu helfen. Er hilft ihnen eine Heimath zu erwerben, sich und ihren Kindern. Vaterland, Mutterland haben ihnen nicht genug geboten, um ihnen die Möglichkeit des Bleibens zu geben, und des Lebens für sich und für die Lieben. Vielleicht wird noch einmal der Sprachgebrauch sich ändern müssen. Die Heimath, die gefühlte, die gewusste Heimath, wird vielleicht nicht mehr dereinst nach Vater, nach Mutter be-

nannt werden. Mir scheint, der Einwanderer wird da sich heimathlich fühlen, da verwachsen mit seinem Leib und Blut und seiner Seeleninnigkeit, wo er seiner Kinder Wiege gestellt, Zukunft gesichert, oder—Grab gesenkt hat.

In dieser Weise werden die deutschen Aerzte, welche dieses Institut geplant haben, und Diejenigen, welche jetzt an ihm arbeiten, und Alle, welche dasselbe seit siebenundzwanzig Jahren mit Geldmitteln unterstützten, zu der Verbesserung des Menschenmaterials beigetragen haben, welches nach uns das grosse Volk der Vereinigten Staaten bilden wird. Nur durch solches gemeinsames Arbeiten werden so grosse Resultate erzielt. Nicht Jedem ist es vergönnt, aus sich heraus in höchstem und bestem Sinne Amerikaner zu sein, wie die Verstorbene war, deren grossem Sinn wir diesen Nachmittag verdanken, voll von Genugthuung, von Dankbarkeitsgefühl, und von Anregung zum Denken. Als unbekanntes junges Weib an diesen Gestaden gelandet, als Greisin, mehr gefeiert und mehr betrauert, als jemals ein Weib in Amerika zuvor, zur Ruhe bestattet, bietet sie den Anblick einer echt amerikanischen Existenz. Rastlose Arbeit, planvolles Schaffen, sorgsames Sparen, verschwenderische Generosität, der praktische Sinn, welcher noch bei Lebzeiten das Gedeihen des selbst Geschaffenen beobachten will, das ideale Gemüth, welches dem Hülfbedürftigen zuerst und zuletzt beispringt, und dabei das Vaterlandsgefühl, das sie einsehen liess, dass ihre Bemühungen dem mühsalbeladenen Eingewanderten zu gelten hatten—so war Anna Ottendorfer. So sorgte sie um das

Schicksal der Kranken, der Krankenanstalten, der Schulen, gleicherweise.

Nicht ist es meine Aufgabe, der Verstorbenen hier ausführlich zu gedenken. Wo *die* Steine reden, mögen die Menschen schweigen. Ihre Werke folgen ihr nach, und ihr Name ist unsterblich im Geschichtsbuch der deutschen Amerikaner. Nennt man die besten Namen, wird auch der ihre genannt. Die Betrachtung solcher Naturen, wie die ihrige, voll Kraft, Initiative, Strenge und Idealität gepaart, Erinnerung an die deutsche Heimath und Arbeit für die amerikanische Gegenwart, hilft über manchen Anfall von Pessimismus hinaus, in welchem der Beste oft Gefahr läuft, an der freien Entwicklung des Bestmöglichen in der Menschennatur zu zweifeln. Vor allen Dingen ist uns Deutschgeborenen das Beispiel ihres Lebens segensreich. Wir sind noch nicht an die grosse und freie Entfaltung der deutschen individuellen Natur gewöhnt. Der deutsche Militarismus und die Kleinstaaterei, Jahrhunderte alte Zerrissenheit, Gensdarmerie und Armuth haben den einzelnen Deutschen den Zugschnitt von Engherzigkeit und kleinbürgerlichem Egoismus gegeben, welchen wir in der Politik und dem täglichen Leben des Deutschen so oft zu bedauern haben. Grosse Naturen, wie die ihrige, beweisen wessen auch der Deutsche in freier Luft und ohne obrigkeitliche Erlaubniss fähig ist, und eröffnen uns die Hoffnung, dass nicht blos deutsche Bücher, sondern auch deutsche Männer und deutsche Frauen an der Gestaltung dieser Republik, politisch und moralisch, werden erfolgreich arbeiten können.

Ueber ihrem Sarge und an ihrem offenen Grabe

haben beredte Zungen die einfache Wahrheit ihres Lebens geschildert; sie klang wie Dichtung und war doch nur Erzählung. Von mir erwarten Sie keine Lobrede; die Erinnerung an dasjenige was sie uns geleistet, ist ihre Eulogie. Unter den Gönnern der Anstalten, welche als deutsches Hospital und Dispensary vereinigt sind, schrieb sie früh ihren Namen ein. Viele Jahre war sie eine aufmerksame Zuschauerin dessen, was in kleinen Anfängen, mit armseligen Mitteln, mit ehrlicher Arbeit, im öffentlichen Interesse langsam erzielt wurde. Sie war keine von denjenigen, welche nur um zu geben, ohne Methode und ohne Nachdenken, Wohlthaten erwies. Wohl weiss ich aus manchem Erlebten, wie auch ihre reiche, vielfache Privatwohlthätigkeit in jedem einzelnen Falle durch Gründe des Herzens und des Verstandes zu gleicher Zeit geleitet wurde. Wie viel mehr war ihre öffentliche Wohlthätigkeit gedankenvoll und systematisch. Sobald sie sich von dem Wirken und Nutzen des Hospitals und Dispensary nach langer Beobachtung überzeugt hatte, erbaute sie den Frauenpavillon, den sie vor genau zwei Jahren in nie vergessener Ansprache dem Gebrauch feierlich übergab. Etwa acht Monate später, zu Anfange des Jahres 1883, zu einer Zeit schweren Leidens, von dem sie erst nach langem Ringen erlös't werden durfte, sagte sie eines Tages: Ueber das Dispensarygebäude wird viel geklagt, die Aerzte haben nicht Raum, die Kranken keine Bequemlichkeit. Sehen sie sich nach einem passenden Platz um, ich habe mir noch vorgenommen, hundert tausend Dollars für ein neues deutsches Dispensary auszu-

setzen. Sollte ich vorher sterben, so schadet das nicht. Die Meinigen wissen darum.

Und dies, verehrtes Publikum, reiches und armes, und Sie, meine Herren Collegen, dies ist Ihr neues deutsches Dispensary.

Was die grosse Gabe auszeichnet, ist nicht allein ihr Umfang, sondern die harmonische Erfüllung aller Bedürfnisse aus der gedankenvollen Berücksichtigung aller Erfordernisse hervorgegangen; die gute und grosse Frau wusste, dass das Dispensary, wenn es für immer als ärztliche Wohlthätigkeitsanstalterspriessliches leisten soll, auch den geistigen und wissenschaftlichen Bedürfnissen der Aerzte Rechnung tragen muss. Daher gedachte sie mit Vorliebe der Laboratorien, welche im Hofe zu errichten seien; aus demselben Grunde bestand sie auf reichlichem Raum für die ärztliche Bibliothek und Versammlungszimmer. Wenn Sie, meine Herren Collegen, in naher und fernster Zukunft Gelegenheit haben werden, Ihre seit siebenundzwanzig langen Jahren gesammelte Bibliothek in Bequemlichkeit zu benützen, und ein kostbares Local haben werden zum Gebrauch für Ihre wissenschaftlichen Versammlungen, einen Mittelpunkt sowohl der New Yorker Collegen, als auch der zahlreichen fremdländischen Aerzte, welche unserer Stadt einen flüchtigen Besuch abstatten, oder zum Zweck der Niederlassung und Einbürgerung unter uns treten, so gehört Ihr Dank der liebenden Fürsorge der grossen Verstorbenen. So hat sie für uns praktische Arbeit und wissenschaftliches Bemühen unter einem Dache vereint. So hat sie den Gedanken für uns hier verwirklicht, den ihr hochherziger

Gatte, indem er das Nachbarhaus für das bildungsbedürftige grosse Publikum erbaute und unter die Aegide des Deutschen Hospitals und Dispensary stellte, in anderer Richtung ausgebaut hat.*

Noch mehr hat sie für uns gethan. Vor zwei Jahren habe ich Gelegenheit gehabt, das lange Ringen, die chronische Armuth der Anstalten, welche uns so am Herzen lagen, zu schildern. Die Theilnahmlosigkeit Mancher in der wohlhabenden deutschen Bevölkerung, einerlei wodurch bedingt, war eine Thatsache. Durch Anna Ottendorfer, deren systemvolles Vorgehen und prüfende Unterscheidung immer mehr gewürdigt wurde, ist die Sympathie des grossen Publikums für unsere Anstalten wach gerufen worden. Diese zwei vergangenen Monate haben eine reichere Ernte von neuen Mitgliedern ergeben, als die zwei vergangenen

* In der Versammlung des Verwaltungsrathes des Deutschen Hospitals und Dispensary wurden am 3. März 1883 die folgenden Beschlüsse angenommen:

1. Das für die poliklinische Arbeit bestimmte Haus von fünfzig Fuss Front in der zweiten Avenue, zwischen der 8. und 9. Strasse, und sämtliche Hintergebäude mit Hof bleiben für diesen Zweck für immer vorbehalten.

2. Das angrenzende Haus, zwanzig Fuss breit, für öffentliche freie Lesezimmer und Leih-Bibliothek bestimmt, wird von dem Verwaltungsrath mit der ausdrücklichen Bestimmung übernommen, dass dasselbe ein für alle Mal zu dem ausgesprochenen Zwecke vorbehalten und um eine nominelle Miethe an eine zum Zweck der Einrichtung und Unterhaltung freier Leih-Bibliotheken und Lesezimmer gegründete oder zu gründende Gesellschaft abgegeben werde.

3. Der Präsident, Secretär und Schatzmeister des Verwaltungsrathes werden hiernit bevollmächtigt, die Schenkung unter den obigen Bedingungen anzunehmen.

Jahre. Das deutsche Publikum fängt an das Hospital und Dispensary mit Rücksicht zu behandeln, mit liebenden Augen anzuschauen. Wir haben guten Grund zu glauben, dass, wie die Anstalten ein Centrum für deutscher Aerzte emsiges Walten gewesen sind mehr als ein Vierteljahrhundert, sie in Zukunft die liebende Sorgfalt der Bevölkerung aller Klassen auf sich vereinigen werden. Wohl soll es also sein. Denn wie in jeglichem Hause das Krankenzimmer der heilige Ort, so soll dem Gemeinwesen die Stätte, an welcher die Kranken und Bedürftigen gepflegt werden und genesen, das Heiligthum sein. Dem Hellenen war diese Stätte der Tempel. Als Tempel soll der Bevölkerung die Heilstätte gelten, und mit Tempelgefühl nahe sogar der Priester der Gesundheit, der Arzt, sich dem Orte seines Wirkens. An der Pforte streife er von Gemeinem ab, was an Jedem klebt, der menschlich ist; wem wissenschaftliches Streben und humanes Wirken das Herz nicht von den Schlacken des Neides, der Missgunst, der Eifersucht, des Eigennutzes reinigen können, der hätte besser gethan, seine Muskeln und seinen Scharfsinn im Gelderwerb auf offenem Geschäftsmarkt zu üben, statt den Versuch zu machen, seine Seele und seinen Geist in einem edlen Berufe zu bethätigen.

Dieses nun, meine Herren und Damen, dieses, meine Herren Collegen, ist Ihr Tempel. Die Pracht und Harmonie, welche uns umgibt, geplant und gegründet von einer grossen Verstorbenen, entbehrt heute nur Eines. Dieses Eine ist die Gegenwart der Schöpferin des Hauses, in welchem wir versammelt sind, um zu bewundern, zu geniessen, zu

hoffen, und Vorsätze zu fassen für die Zukunft. Freilich ist es nicht Jedem vergönnt, so viel zu leisten, wie diejenige vermochte, deren Name auf jeder Zunge hier schwebt, deren Gedächtniss diese Feier heiligt. Wohl aber ist es Keinem verwehrt, wohl aber ist es Jedem geboten, eben so Grosses zu wollen.

CIRCULAR.

DAS DEUTSCHE HOSPITAL UND DISPENSARY.

New York, November 1890.

Soll der Charter umgestossen werden?

Paragraph 5 der Constitution des Deutschen Dispensary, angenommen am 19. Januar 1857, lautet: Die allgemeine Leitung und die ökonomische und finanzielle Verwaltung des Vereins und der Anstalt ist in den Händen eines Vorstandes von zwölf Mitgliedern. Die medicinische Leitung und Führung der Anstalt liegt dem Collegium der Aerzte derselben ob.

§ 9. Ernennungen, sowie etwaige Ausschliessungen von Aerzten, geschehen von dem Vorstand des Vereins auf Vorschlag des Collegiums der Aerzte.

In dem Freibrief des Deutschen Hospitals und Dispensary, vom 13. April 1861, heisst es :

§ 2. Das Collegium der Aerzte soll das Recht haben, von Zeit zu Zeit, sowie es ihnen geeignet erscheint, andere Mitglieder des Collegiums zu erwählen.

§ 6. Die ärztliche Leitung soll unter der ausschliesslichen Controlle der drei Mitglieder stehen, welche jährlich vom Collegium der Aerzte angestellt werden, und diese drei Mitglieder sollen sich zu dem Zwecke als ärztlicher Ausschuss organisiren.

§ 7. Die Hospital- und Dispensary-Aerzte sollen

auf Antrag des ärztlichen Ausschusses vom Vorstand angestellt und entlassen werden.

Der jetzige Verwaltungsrath beabsichtigt die sofortige Veränderung dieser Punkte des Charters. Es soll die Anstellung und Ausschliessung der Aerzte vom Verwaltungsrath abhängen. Diese Zumuthung wird von den Aerzten einstimmig und entschieden abgelehnt.

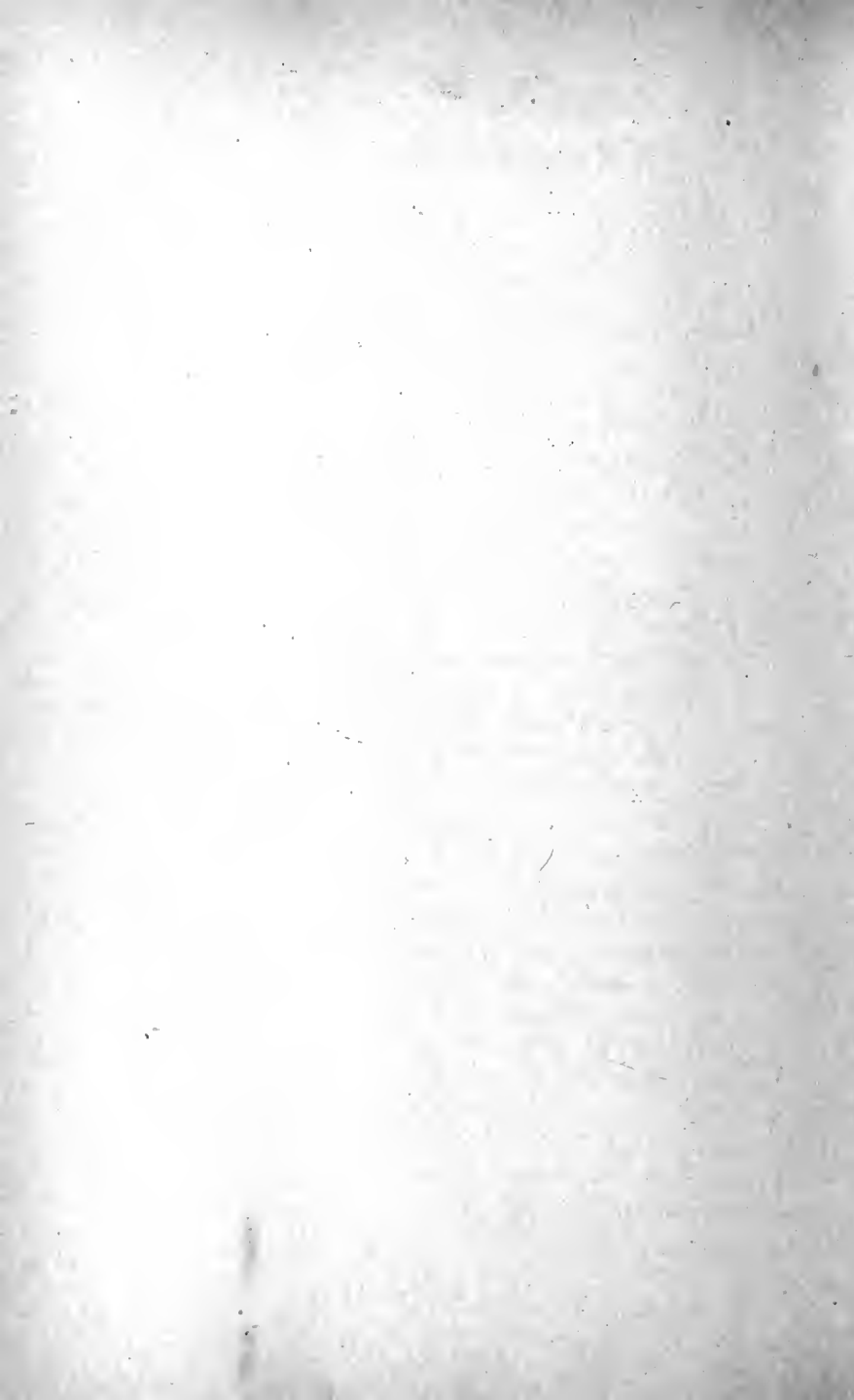
Seit 33, resp. 21 Jahren hat der Freibrief bestanden. Die Verwaltungsräthe haben oft gewechselt, die Aerzte haben Jahre und Jahrzehnte lang für die Anstalten und Kranken stetig gearbeitet. Das Publikum erkennt ihre Dienste an und nennt ihre Namen in Verbindung mit denjenigen der Anstalten. Der Ruf dieser letzteren ist durch ihre Leistungen begründet.

Die in Gegenwart der verewigten Frau Ottendorfer bei der Eröffnung des Ottendorfer-Pavillons im Mai 1882 aufgestellte Behauptung, dass das Deutsche Hospital und Dispensary wegen der Betheiligung der Aerzte an der Verwaltung und der Einmüthigkeit der letzteren beneidet werde, wurde von ihr und dem versammelten Publikum mit grösstem Beifall aufgenommen. Der Plan zum neuen Dispensary in der 2. Avenue wurde von derselben Wohlthäterin vorzugsweise mit Aerzten besprochen und ausgearbeitet.

Ursprünglich sind die Aerzte die Gründer der Anstalten gewesen. Ihre Namen sind unter den Incorporatoren mit denjenigen der Laien-Mitarbeiter genannt. Wir sehen keinen Vortheil in der Umstossung des alten Charters und der Einfügung neuer Namen.

Die Unterzeichneten sehen nur Vorthail darin, dass die rein ärztlichen Angelegenheiten in den Händen der Aerzte gewesen sind und verbleiben. Wenn es sich um Anstellung von Aerzten handelt, so sind Aerzte die kundigen Beurtheiler, nicht aber die Laien. Die jetzigen Aerzte der Anstalten sind dem Publikum bekannt, und es vertraut ihnen, wird also eine gewaltsame Schmälerung ihrer Rechte und Pflichten mit Misstrauen gegen den Verwaltungsrath aufnehmen, was im Interesse des Rufes und des finanziellen Gedeihens der Anstalten nicht zu wünschen ist.

Die Unterzeichneten sind unter dem alten Charter bereit gewesen, Mitglieder des Hospitalvereins zu werden. Sie können den Versuch, den Freibrief durch die Legislatur gegen den ausgesprochenen Willen der Aerzte und mit offenkundiger Beleidigung derselben, nachdem sie die Anstalten auf die jetzige Höhe ihres Rufes und ihrer Leistungsfähigkeit gebracht haben, nur als grossen Missgriff betrachten, und protestiren gegen denselben.



ANSPRACHE

BEHUFES EINES BAUES FUER DIE WÄRTERINNENSCHULE
DES DEUTSCHEN HOSPITALS, 1892.

Meine Herren !

Mit grossem Vergnügen benutzen wir Aerzte diese Gelegenheit, unsere Befriedigung darüber auszudrücken, dass wir voll und ganz uns mit den Ideen und Absichten des Verwaltungsrathes des Deutschen Hospitals und Dispensary einverstanden erklären können. Es handelt sich ja um die Ausführung eines Planes, die praktische und menschenfreundliche Bestimmung des Hospitals kräftig weiter zu entwickeln und die Bedeutung, welche eine grosse und gut geleitete Wärterinnenschule für das weitere Gemeinwesen hat, zur vollen Entfaltung zu bringen. Den Vorzug nun, vor Ihnen über diesen Gegenstand zu reden, verdanke ich ohne Zweifel dem Umstande, dass ich der letzte unter den Gründern der beiden combinirten Anstalten Hospital und Dispensary bin, welcher noch das Glück hat, in activem Dienste sich an ihren Erfolgen zu erfreuen. Vielleicht auch dem, dass es dem einen oder anderen massgebenden Herrn bekannt geworden ist, dass ich in einer lange verflossenen Zeit, als wir im Begriff standen, grosse Irrthümer in der Organisation unserer Krankenpflege zu begehen, für die Einrichtung einer eigenen Wärterinnenschule ebenso erfolglos, wie dringend, eingetreten bin.

Die Nothwendigkeit, in welcher wir uns viele Jahre befanden, unsere Wärter und Wärterinnen zum grossen Theil aus der Klasse der Beschäftigungslosen und Hilfslosen zu beziehen, welche eine Stelle bei uns zu dem Zwecke annahmen, um über eine augenblickliche Nothlage hinwegzukommen, und bei irgend welcher andern Erwerbsaussicht die gehasste und als niedrig und mühsam betrachtete Krankenpflege aufzugeben, können wir freilich nicht als Missgriff, sondern nur als unvermeidliches Uebel betrachten. Wir waren genau so gestellt, wie das Publikum. Männliche Wärter waren überhaupt selten; die wenigen besseren aus jener Zeit würden heute schwerlich als zweckmässig und wünschenswerth erscheinen. Einer von ihnen bediente mich im Jahre 1866, im Petechialtyphus; ich erinnere mich des Mannes wohl und dankbar, und anerkenne gern seinen guten Willen und seine Werkthätigkeit. Aber auch er, der Besten Einer, würde von Keinem von Ihnen heute herangezogen werden. Der grösste Theil der Krankenpflege war in den Händen der Angehörigen und Hausgenossen. Nun wissen Sie doch meist wohl aus persönlicher Erfahrung, dass bei Denen das Gefühl über das Wissen, die Unerfahrenheit über erworbene Geschicklichkeit, liebevolle Angst über nützlichen Muth zu dominiren pflegt. Und doch war diese Pflege noch immer besser und gewissenhafter, als diejenige, für welche fremde Frauen gedungen wurden. Die Aelteren unter uns erinnern sich deutlich an diese Klasse von Frauen. Stolz auf die immer wiederholten Irrthümer, welche naiv oder frech sich als "Erfahrung" aufbauschen, bodenlose Unwissenheit, welche im Laufe viel-

facher Krankheitsfälle und—Entbindungen sich angesammelt hatte, Anmassung, welche sich bei Allen einstellt, welche ohne Vorkenntnisse oder Anlagen eine Stellung der Autorität oder Ueberlegenheit erlangen, Uebermuth gegenüber dem Hauspersonal, das die endliche Erlösung von dem herrschsüchtigen und kaffeetrinkenden Gemeinschaden sehnächtig erharrte, das waren die Eigenschaften von sehr vielen Derjenigen, denen die Obhut über Gesundheit und Leben von Familienmitgliedern oft anvertraut werden musste. Und viel besser waren viele Derjenigen nicht, mit denen das Deutsche Hospital sich in die Pflege seiner Kranken zu theilen hatte. Unfähigkeit, Trägheit, übler Wille, Unsauberkeit, häufiger Wechsel—bis zu zweiundsiebzig in einem Jahre—waren an der Tagesordnung.

In dieser Nothlage hielt man nach geschulten Wärterinnen Umschau. Die Andeutung, dass wir dem Beispiele des Bellevue Hospital's folgen sollten, welches in 1873 eine Wärterinnenschule eröffnete, wurde abgewiesen. Sie wissen aus der Geschichte unserer Anstalt, dass wir Jahre lang Wärterinnen und Oberinnen aus deutschem Lande bezogen. Obgleich das Land deutsch war, so war es doch ein fremdes Element, das bei uns einzog. Nicht bloß war es fremd, sondern auch fremdartig. Deutsch-Amerikaner der Klassen, welche sich bei uns in Pflege befinden, und deutsche zu einem Orden gehörende und zusammengeschlossene Pflegerinnen sind nicht homogene, sondern widerhaarige Elemente. Was Virchow vor vielen Jahren über die Krankenhauspflege durch religiöse und andere Orden veröffentlichte, bestätigte sich recht

bald bei uns. Die Hoffnungen, welchen Viele von uns sich in Bezug auf die ersehnte Hülfe hingegeben hatten, gingen nicht in Erfüllung. Die gegenseitige Befriedigung war gross, als sich das Verhältniss löste.

Endlich geschah denn das Richtige. Unter vielen Schwierigkeiten wurde die Wärterinnenschule gegründet. Sorgsamkeit, Pflege, Reinlichkeit, Aufmerksamkeit, und wirkliche Kenntniss der theoretischen und praktischen Krankenwartung konnten von *der* Zeit an möglich werden, und sind in erfreulicher Weise bei uns eingezogen. Bis zu welchem Grade sie immer Wirklichkeit geworden sind, braucht hier nicht erörtert zu werden, wo wir zusammen gekommen sind, um Schritte zu ergreifen, welche uns dem Ideale vollkommener Krankenpflege näher bringen sollen. Die Nachtheile der Jugend kleben jedem jungen Institute an; es lag in der Natur der Sache, dass neben dem allervortrefflichsten Material auch weniger Versprechende in die Schule aufgenommen wurden. Der häufige Wechsel der Oberinnen, und ihre gelegentliche Unzulänglichkeit, waren ebenfalls Missstände, welche sich mit Vorsicht, mit Zuhülfenehmen ärztlichen Rathes, mit vorurtheilsfreier Unpersönlichkeit, mit ausschliesslicher Rücksichtnahme auf Kenntniss und Charakterreife in der Auswahl werden vermeiden lassen. Auch hier, wie in Krankheiten, ist Vorsicht die Mutter der Weisheit, und Vorbeugen besser als Curiren müssen. Manche von den Missgriffen, welche in der Auswahl und Entlassung von Oberinnen gemacht worden sind, werden sich nur vermeiden lassen, wenn das ärztliche Urtheil über

Fähigkeit und Befugniss consultirt wird. Denn grade Denjenigen von uns, welche der Ansicht sind, dass Cäsar gebührt was Cäsar's ist, und Gotte was Gottes ist, und dass die Administration einerseits und ärztliche Leitung andererseits—beide der Schulung und specieller Kenntnisse bedürftig—streng getrennt werden müssen, sehen leicht ein, dass selbstverständlich die Einrichtung und Leitung einer Wärterschule eine vorzugsweise ärztliche Angelegenheit ist. In derjenigen, in welcher die Geschäfte von jeher glatt und ohne Reibung abgewickelt worden—Mills Training School—besteht nach der Verfügung des Gründers der Vorstand der Mehrheit nach aus Aerzten des Bellevue Hospitals.

Für den Vorstand der weiblichen Bellevue Hospital Training School war die erste Sorge die, ein eigenes Heim zu erhalten. Es liegt ganz ausserhalb der Hospital-Einfriedigung. Die Wärterinnenschule des Mount Sinai Hospitals fing in einem eigenen Hause, drei Blocks von der Anstalt entfernt, an. Seither hat der Vorstand des Hospitals, obgleich vorläufig ohne eigentliche Controlle über die Schule selber, dieser und seinem Dispensary ein eigenes Gebäude errichtet. Unter den Prachtgebäuden des Johns Hopkins Hospitals in Baltimore war eines der ersten, welches fertiggestellt wurde, dasjenige für die Wärterinnenschule. Die Schule für männliche Wärter—Mills Training School—welche mit Bellevue in Zusammenhang gebracht ist, wurde erst eröffnet, nachdem ein grosses eigenes Heim errichtet worden war.

Der praktische Sinn des Amerikaners, dem nur

seine Generosität und offene Hand im wohl verstandenen Dienste der Allgemeinheit gleichkommen, hat von vornherein die Nothwendigkeit erkannt, dem Wärterschüler-Personale in einem eigenen Gebäude besseres Quartier für Unterrichts- und Wohnzwecke zu liefern. Nur so ist es möglich, eine genügende Anzahl von Schülern unterzubringen und zu verwenden.

Abgesehen davon, dass die Räumlichkeiten unseres Deutschen Hospitals für die Patienten und die Pflegerinnen jetzt nicht ausreichen, verspreche ich mir von einem eigenen Hause eine grosse Anzahl von Vortheilen.

Wenn nicht im Dienste, soll die Wärterin wirklich ausser Dienst sein, und sich ausser Dienst *fühlen*.

Während des Dienstes soll sie nicht gestört werden und andere nicht stören. Im Hospital sollen nur diejenigen anwesend sein, welche benöthigt oder wirklich thätig sind. In ihm soll Ruhe und die Stimmung der Ernsthaftigkeit herrschen. Es soll kein überflüssiges Wort gesprochen oder gehört werden. Die meisten Kranken leiden wirklich unter dem etwaigen Leichtsinne oder der Leichtlebigkeit der Umgebung. Wie der Arzt über dem Bette des Kranken denselben nicht ausschliesslich als interessant bezeichnen soll, denn der Kranke will nicht für interessant, sondern nur für wichtig gelten, so soll unter den Wärterinnen während der Dienstzeit nur Dienstliches gethan oder gesprochen werden. Die ausser Dienst befindliche soll nur mit den ausser Dienst befindlichen verkehren. Innerhalb der Spitalmauern braucht keine Morosität zu

herrschen, wohl aber soll der Grundzug des Pflichtgefühls und der Pflichterfüllung jedem Unbefangenen und Wohlmeinenden klar werden.

Der Aufenthalt im eigenen Hause wird ein hinreichender Schutz sein gegen Verdacht, und gegen gelegentliche Versuchungen ernstester Natur, über welche bisweilen in lange verflossenen Zeiten hat Klage geführt werden müssen.

Das eigene Haus wird mehr Gelegenheit geben und Lust erwecken zum Studiren.

Es wird keine Kaserne sein, aber es wird das Gefühl der Sicherheit, der Bevorzugung geben, und einen heilsamen Corpsgeist wecken und Berufsstolz.

Es wird eine Ermunterung für das bessere Element unter der deutsch-amerikanischen weiblichen Bevölkerung sein, sich der Schule anzuschliessen, um auf diese Weise sich einen würdigen und nützlichen Beruf für das Leben zu erarbeiten.

Mit dem Anschluss des besseren und intellektuellen Elements können auch grössere Anforderungen an Lern- und Arbeitsfähigkeit gestellt werden. Beide werden dem Spital in erster Linie, in letzter Instanz für das ganze Leben der Schülerinnen sowohl ihnen selbst, als auch dem grossen Publikum zu gute kommen.

Corpsgeist und Berufsstolz werden den moralischen Muth ausbilden, welcher zu Zeiten die Krankenpflege zum Heroismus erhebt. Das brave kleine Fräulein Carrie Mann, eine der Unserigen, sagte mir, dass sie sterben würde, als ich sie in einem entlegenen Winkel in Brooklyn besuchte, und starb am Scharlach, den sie sich in ihrem Beruf geholt hatte. Die Weigerung von geschulten Wärterin-

nen, ansteckende Kranke in der Privatpflege zu übernehmen, wird je seltener werden, je bessere Elemente sich der Krankenpflege widmen und je mehr der Berufsehrgeiz gepflegt wird. Die Mount Sinai Training School hat ein stehendes Uebereinkommen mit dem Willard Parker Hospital übernommen. Von ihren Schülerinnen habe ich eine Anzahl mit Scharlach oder Diphtherie erkrankt gesehen. Eine der besten Krankenwärterinnen meiner Bekanntschaft war eine gebildete Dame aus reichem Hause in Chicago, welche im Bellevue Hospital im Jahre 1874 sich um die Pflege der gefährlichsten ansteckenden Krankheiten verdient machte. Sie und ihre Genossinnen, deren mancher ich mich dankbar und ehrerbietig erinnere, liefern den Beweis dafür, dass die Pflege des Berufsstolzes und der Berufstreue des Untergrundes der kirchlichen Sanction und des klösterlichen Ordenswesens nicht bedarf. In der letzten Zeit, in welcher die Cholerafurcht noch grösser war, als die Cholerafaher, erbieten sich verschiedene, besonders begabte und dienstbereite, geschulte Wärterinnen zum Cholera-dienst; ein Anerbieten, von dem wir wohl noch Gelegenheit haben werden, Gebrauch zu machen.

Der Art wird und muss die Klasse der Pflegerinnen werden, welche den Krankendienst im Hospital zu einer nie geahnten Wirksamkeit entfalten und nach zurückgelegtem Cursus im Stande sein wird, dem Publikum zuverlässige, kenntnissreiche und berufsfreudige Wärterinnen für immer zu liefern.

An diese Betrachtung kettet sich vielleicht in dem ideal angelegten Sinne manches Anwesenden eine andere trostreiche Fernsicht. Ich wenigstens

sehe über das Ziel hinweg, das zum Theil jetzt schon erreicht ist—ein anderes, welches durch den Bau der Wärterinnenschule erreicht werden *kann*. Meine Herren, das Deutsche Dispensary, das Deutsche Hospital, jedes Dispensary und jedes Spital ist errichtet und unterhalten worden, damit dem armen, nebenbei auch dem bemittelten, Kranken sein menschliches Recht geschehe. In unserem Jahrhundert ist die Wohlthätigkeit, private wie öffentliche, als Pflicht anerkannt. Die nothwendigen Schäden unserer gesellschaftlichen und commerciellen Entwicklung werden durch freiwillige Opfer möglichst ausgeglichen; in *der* Weise bethätigen sich alle Glieder und Klassen der Menschen als ein zusammengehöriger Organismus. Im Hospital geben Sie Unterkunft Denen, die keine zweckmässige haben, und Nahrung, Luft und Reinlichkeit. Sie geben ärztlichen Beistand. Sie gewähren die beste Wartung und Pflege. Im Dispensary liefern sie ärztlichen Rath und Hülfe, aber keine Pflege und Wartung. Nun giebt es in dieser Stadt, wie in anderen Städten mehrfach Gesellschaften, welche es sich unter Anderem zur Aufgabe gestellt haben, bedürftigen Hauskranken unentgeltlich geschulte und berufsfreudige Wärterinnen zu verschaffen. Solcher Hülfe kann es nie zuviel geben, das Bedürfniss ist immer vorhanden und ein wachsendes, und in dem Rufe jener Gesellschaften ist die Leistung unentgeltlicher, guter Krankenpflege der lauteste Segenspruch. Nun ist für jede öffentliche Anstalt, wie die unserige, die Pflege innerhalb der eigenen Mauern allerdings die erste Aufgabe. Aber mit der Erfüllung dieser Auf-

gabe weitet sich der Blick, dehnt sich das Herz. Der Nationalökonom, der Moralist, der Humanitarier findet immer neue Arbeit, die denselben Zwecken dient: die Gesellschaft des Deutschen Hospitals, welches zwei tausend Kranke in seiner Anstalt verpflegt, dient fünfzig tausend Auswärtigen im Dispensary. Wärterinnen liefert sie zwei tausend Armen unentgeltlich. Ihr Ziel mag der-einst sein, zehn tausend bettlägerigen, armen Kranken in ihren Wohnungen ebenso gut geschulte, ebenso menschliche, ebenso treue Pflegerinnen zu verschaffen. Das sei Ihr *endliches* Ziel, und Sie können es leicht erreichen. Wenn das Publikum angegangen wird, 75,000 Dollars für den Bau Ihrer Wärterinnenschule herzugeben, so werden Sie dieselben erhalten. Lassen Sie das Publikum vielleicht auch wissen, dass Sie das weitere Ziel im Auge haben, die Krankenpflege in der Stadt zu organisiren, in grösserem, in grossem Massstabe, dass Sie mehr Raum brauchen, mehr Unterkunft für mehr Schülerinnen, welche Sie für die heilige Mission vorbereiten—und nur Sie können es, nur Sie haben ein grosses Hospital zu Lehrzwecken zur Verfügung—so werden Ihnen auch dafür Mittel zufließen. Das ist mein letzter Appell zu Gunsten eines Neubaues, vielleicht gar eines grösseren Neubaues, als es für das Hospital allein nothwendig wäre. Niemand, keine Gesellschaft, keine Organisation hat dasselbe Recht, welches Sie haben, das Publikum zu Beisteuern aufzufordern. Sie haben Ihre Schule vor Jahren organisirt, seit der Zeit unterhalten, gute Wärterinnen für die Anstalt und das Publikum geschaffen, und haben auch in der Mei-

nung der Wohldenkenden Ihre Sporen verdient. Keine alte Gesellschaft, keine neue, kann Ihre Stelle einnehmen. Mit den Pflichten, welche Sie übernommen und erfüllt haben, wachsen Ihre Rechte. Vergessen Sie weder die einen, noch die andern. Sollten Sie Sich jedoch vor der Hand—und dazu rathe auch ich dringend—mit der nächstliegenden Aufgabe allein befassen wollen, so bleibt Ihnen und Ihren Nachfolgern die Verwirklichung des Ideals als heiliges Vermächtniss.

Als vor langer Zeit die erste New Yorker Wärterinnenschule geplant wurde, machten sich Besorgnisse bemerkbar, dass sich keine Schülerinnen finden würden. Amerikanische Damen habe ich damals sagen hören, dass sie fürchteten, dass Flüchtigkeit, Unfleiss und Arroganz so weit verbreitet seien, dass nur irländische Dienstboten und invalid gewordene alte Mädchen aus Verzweiflung sich zur Krankenwartung hergeben würden. Sie und wir Alle haben bessere Einsicht gewonnen. Gerade in den amerikanischen Schulen finden sich die denkbar besten Elemente. Die Intellektualität, Findigkeit, Anpassungsfähigkeit und Beherztheit der jungen Amerikanerinnen ist vielfach in ihnen vertreten, und die Schnelligkeit, mit welcher die Pflegerinnen in der guten Gesellschaft anerkannt wurden und Fuss fassten, ist bekannte Thatsache. Auch bei uns wurde vor langen Jahre behauptet, dass sich Schülerinnen nicht finden würden; der Erfolg unserer Schule hat das Gegentheil bewiesen. Ihnen Allen sind Wärterinnen derselben bekannt, welche ihrem Namen Ehre machen; mit Einigen, die besonders befähigt und willig sind, halten wir Aerzte

gern gute Kameradschaft und schütteln ihnen anerkennend die Hand. Wenn das Publikum ein Haus errichten wird das zu gleicher Zeit eine gute Schule und ein anständiges Heim sein muss, so werden Sie erleben, dass wir unter der grossen Zahl der Kandidatinnen die Auswahl haben und uns nur mit den allerbesten zu begnügen brauchen. Dann wird auch die Zeit kommen, in welcher der gelegentliche Mangel an Wärterinnen in der Privatpflege nicht so leicht, wie jetzt häufig, gefühlt werden wird. In der That ist dieser Mangel ganz häufig eingetreten. Gerade diese Perioden des allgemeinen Bedürfnisses und der Unterproduktion führen uns dahin, zu begreifen, bis zu welchem Grade die Interessen des der Privatpflege bedürftenden Publikums und dasjenige des Hospitals identisch sind.

Es wird nun an die Einsichtigen und Wohlwollenen unter den Begüterten das Ansinnen gestellt, für den Bau eines Gebäudes für die Wärterinnenschule die nöthigen Mittel zu schaffen. Das neue Haus wird dem Deutschen Hospital eine kräftige Stütze werden, einer grossen Anzahl von lern- und arbeitsbedürftigen, intellektuellen Deutsch-Amerikanerinnen die Möglichkeit zur Erwerbung der Kenntnisse und Kunstgriffe für einen würdigen und edlen Beruf verschaffen und—was auf die Dauer noch viel wichtiger ist—dem Publikum vom Jahr zu Jahr eine grössere Anzahl von gut unterrichteten, berufstreuen und lern- und lehrbegierigen Krankendienerinnen vorbereiten. Niemand kennt besser als wir Aerzte die Bedeutung derselben für den einzelnen Krankheitsfall, in dem auf pflichttreue Pflege und geschulte Beobachtung Alles ankommen kann.

Diejenigen von Ihnen—und Jeden ereilt auch *der* Tag—welche Kummerniss im Sinn und Angst im Herzen, über dem Kissen eines geliebten Menschen um Hülfe in der Noth gerungen haben, wissen, dass das Beste wahr ist, was über den Segen geschulter und erfolgreicher Wartung gesagt werden kann; wissen auch, dass jedes Opfer im Interesse einer Anstalt, wie die geplante, durch Gegenleistungen mehr als abbezahlt wird. Aber ich will nicht an den persönlichen Eigennutz appelliren. Das öffentliche Wohl verlangt und findet—zumal in unserem Gemeinwesen—immer Männer und Weiber, welche ein generöses Opfer an Geld und Arbeit nicht nach den Zinsen berechnen, welche ihnen persönlich heimgezahlt werden. In einer Stadt, in welcher eine einsichts- und gemüthsvolle Dame die Sammlung für eine ärztliche Akademie und Bibliothek mit einer Schenkung von 25,000 Dollars auf den Grund hin eröffnete, dass die Unterstützung der wissenschaftlichen Studien des ärztlichen Standes im streng humanitären Sinne eine öffentliche Wohlthat sei, muss es nicht schwer fallen, die 75,000 Dollars aufzubringen, welche für die Ausbildung einer immer zunehmenden Klasse von intellektuellen und berufstreuen Krankenwärterinnen benöthigt sind. Das neue Institut wird nicht blos ein Denkmal für die Gründer sein, sondern auch den Beweis liefern für das ethische Bedürfniss der aufgeklärten Geber, welche in der Schöpfung der neuen Anstalt einen Akt humanitärer und socialer Politik verwirklichen.

REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

THE principles or notions of Hahnemann were as follows: The office of the physician is to remove disease. Of the latter, the symptoms only are perceptible. Internal changes cannot be recognized. They are mostly the results of allopathic treatment. To make or attend post-mortem examinations is useless. The disease is removed with the removal of the symptoms. Medicines have their symptoms, like diseases. What they can do must be studied in the healthy. The treatment of the "old school," "contraria contrariis," may remove symptoms, but they return and become incurable. The dogma of "similia similibus" is the only law of treatment. Its value and efficiency compare with "old school" medicine as day with night. Medicine produces disease. The natural disease becomes extinct by the effect of the similar and more powerful one produced by medicine. Thus the fear of the roar of cannon in the heart of the soldier is removed by the roar of drumming. Acute disease results from telluric and atmospheric influences, etc., also from latent "psora"; chronic disease, from allopathic medicines, syphilis, "condyloma disease," and "psora." Their symptoms must be learned principally from the report of the patient, which must not be interrupted. The medicinal agent which is to cure a disease is that which produces, when given in sufficient dose, a disease similar to that which

is to be healed. The effects of an experimental (large) dose are very numerous; they are recorded after a single dose, from the report of the person experimented upon, for days, weeks, and months. Some of the drugs have one thousand or two thousand symptoms. The effects of a medicine are either primary or secondary. The first is the one wanted. The latter must be avoided. Impairment is sometimes seen at first, the more rarely the smaller the dose. The medicine must be given but once every few days or weeks. But one medicine must be given at a time. When a remedy is found not to be quite appropriate after some time, another must be selected. The effect of the medicine is dynamic. The smaller the dose the greater the dynamic effect.

Shaking and diluting in a certain manner increase the effect. Only potencies are homœopathic remedies. Neither senses nor chemistry must be capable of discovering anything medicinal in the medicine to be administered. Everything is cured by homœopathy except the moribund condition, old age, and the loss of a vital part.

The *Medical News* asserts that homœopathy "has been a thorn and pitfall in the way of progress." That is in direct contradiction to the history of medical science. Homœopathy has neither aided nor obstructed the progress of medicine. It never claimed to revolutionize or teach anything but medicinal therapeutics. Its assumption that disease was something foreign to the organism (of which the latter could be delivered by some new enemy

endowed with similar properties) was so contrary to the medical mind, waking up to the conception and definition of disease as a complex of symptoms depending on changed conditions, that it never had the slightest influence on the labors of the men who shaped the fate of medical science during this century. It is true that homœopathic practitioners had and have "a highly respectable and intelligent following" (P. E. Chase, on medical legislation, in the "Proceedings of the Medical Society of Kings County"), but it is not equally true that it was "deeply-seated prejudice" which has "caused the non-recognition of our homœopathic and eclectic brethren, our fellow-practitioners of different creeds." That recognition need not be "withheld" from the followers of Hahnemann; it is an impossibility on the part of sane men, and no "prejudice" against a therapeutical dogma based on Paracelsus and caprice. "Only potencies are homœopathic medicines." "I recognize nobody as my follower but him who gives medicines in such small doses as to preclude the perception of anything medicinal in them by means of either senses or chemistry." "The pellets may be held near the young infant when asleep." "Gliding over the patient with the hand will cure him; but the manipulation must be done with the firm intention of rendering as much good with it as possible, for its power is in the benevolent will of the manipulator." Such Hahnemannian axioms are so preposterous that nobody can think seriously of the possibility of recognizing them even for the purpose of controverting them. Indeed, then there was no need of contesting or

contradicting on the part of legitimate medicine. Within very few years his own disciples turned against Hahnemann. Rau declared potentiation by dilution to be nonsense. Soon afterward Hirschel complained of the "intentional or unintentional ignorance in regard to the historical development of homœopathy, and the *changes* it had undergone *since* Hahnemann, as being causes of the prejudices it had to encounter."

The changes which have taken place are not developments. In the case of Brownianism and Broussaisism we can speak of development, for they left something tangible behind and gave rise to fertile investigations and useful results. But the development of homœopathy is a gradual return of consciousness and the dropping of revealed articles of faith, one by one. Pathology had never been taught by Hahnemann, except that disease was an entity foreign to the organism, that acute disease resulted from telluric and atmospheric and other influences, and also latent psora; and chronic disease, either from the effect of allopathic remedies, or syphilis, or "condyloma disease," or "psora." Of the rank and file of homœopathists, no outsider can have such a poor opinion as to believe that they ever bent their common sense to accept such wantonness. It would be easy to prove all this at the hands of homœopathic literature through the last five, or even six, decades. But this is not to be a history, only a sketch. What, however, has become of homœopathy is best shown by the teaching and writing of prominent homœopaths of modern times.

Says Dr. Wilde, Vice-President of the British Homœopathic Medical Society :

“Although many believe that the action of the infinitesimal in nature can be demonstrated, its use in medicine is practically, by a large number in this country, all but abandoned.”

Medical Investigator of 1876, ninth section in “Encyclopædia Britannica,” twelfth volume, has the following sentence :

“How many claiming to be homœopaths are daily disregarding the law of *similia* ! It is getting to be quite a rare thing to hear of a homœopathic practitioner conducting a serious case from beginning to end without using such as cathartics, sudorifics, diuretics, etc., in direct opposition to our law ; not only are these drugs used in this way, but there are some also who go so far as to say that they cannot be dispensed with.”

In our own city Dr. Dowling (*North American Review*, June, 1882), who calls himself a homœopath, says as follows : “Rational aids to therapeutic measures are not discarded by the homœopath. He does, indeed, exclusively follow the homœopathic law within the *field to which it is applicable*, but mechanical and chemical conditions arise requiring mechanical and chemical remedies as well as palliatives.”

Thus the *similia similibus* rule is claimed by him for those cases *to which it is applicable*. It must be left to the individual observer of an individual case to decide whether this applicability has arisen. Further, Dr. Dowling, a teacher in what is called a homœopathic college, does not believe in the effect of infinitesimal doses ; he uses “drugs varying from crude tinctures to very high dilutions.” My belief, that he gene-

rally prefers the former to the latter, is not shaken by what he claims as his "invariable rule"—viz., "that the *smallest possible* quantity of medicine must be administered to accomplish the desired result." He discards Hahnemann, who designated all who ever availed themselves of any but infinitesimal doses as bastard homœopaths and heretics, and who insisted upon the uselessness of a medicine in which chemistry or physics could ever find the slightest trace of the original material, in the following words: "The size of the dose, whether it be tincture or a fractional preparation, so long as it is sufficiently *small not to produce* the physiological effect of the drug, has nothing to do with its homœopathicity." "So it be administered because it produces in the healthy similar symptoms to those evidenced in the patient, it matters not whether it be tincture or high dilution, it is homœopathy." You notice that the Hahnemannian practice is entirely disregarded. The provings of the latter were with large doses; his medical doses were the spiritualized dilutions. With Dr. Dowling the provings and the doses are equal, or nearly so. And his doses are by no means controlled by any fixed law, inasmuch as he claims that "the size will depend on individual experience and preference."

According to a newspaper (New York *Times*) reporter, Dr. Wm. T. Helmuth said but lately that homœopathy does not consist in the dose of medicine. You may give a bucketful to one man and a smell to another, provided you adhere to the law: *similia similibus curantur*. "But while I believe the truth of this law, I do not believe it the only way

in which medicines may act. There may be a chemical way or a mechanical way, as well as a dynamical way."

Dr. John C. Minor (New York *Medical Times*, May, 1883) expresses himself as follows :

"Believing as I do that the formula *similia similibus curantur* forms the best general guide in the selection of remedies, I do not recognize it as a law nor follow it as an exclusive method, but exercise the right belonging to every educated physician to make practical use of any established principle in medical science, and to employ any facts in therapeutics that are founded on experiments and confirmed by experience, so far as in my judgment they may tend to promote the welfare of those under my professional care."

Dr. Maylerides ("On the Homœopathy of To-day," Berlin, 1882) says "that in spite of persecution, slander, and ridicule, homœopathy has outlived the transmutations of several medical systems." In what way homœopathy has outlived medical systems the following quotations from the book will illustrate. My readers will notice that it is itself which has been outlived by homœopathy. He says:

"In Hahnemann's assertions there is much speculative philosophy, and there are many dicta without actual proofs.

"*Similia similibus* is a rule, a principle in, but not, as Hahnemann says, and many with him even to-day, *the law of* therapeutics. The formula is not an appropriate one, for there is no universal therapeutical method for the sum of human sufferings.

"Hahnemann was too apodictic. He gave a bad

example of fanaticism, demanded absolute faith and obedience—and changed his views very often.

“Homœopathy has not discovered the stone of the philosophers.

“In regard to the importance and meaning of the natural and inherent tendency to spontaneous recovery (*‘Naturheilkraft’*), which Hahnemann did not recognize at all, we hold different opinions altogether. This much is certain, that homœopathy impedes less than other methods of treatment. The younger generation is given to more pathological thinking.

“The art of diagnosis stands highest in the estimation of homœopaths.

“Whatever is not proven by experiment or mathematics cannot claim to be recognized as a law in science.

“Physiological treatment includes tracheotomy, antiseptis, bathing; morphine, chloroform, both internally and subcutaneously.

“Matter and force have a certain relation to each other. Infinitesimal dilutions must not be recognized as justifiable. Iodide of potassium, quinia, phosphorus, and opium are not available in such dilutions. Away with mysticism, and therefore with *‘potentiation.’*

“We have the *‘similia similibus’* rule, but do not recognize its definition as given by Hahnemann. It is ingenious but not proven. In part it is antiquated; we are not responsible for it; his *‘organon’* is no Bible. We are homœopaths, but no Hahnemannians. The *similia similibus* rule is to serve us, but we must not be its slaves.”

In a presidential address before the New York Medico-Chirurgical Society, Dr. E. P. Fowler arrives at the following conclusions:

“1st. That, in justice to its originator, the term ‘homœopathy’ cannot be used in any other sense than that which he explicitly indicated; and no one has a right to demand or expect that the general profession or the public shall attach to it any other than the correct etymological meaning which its learned author himself did.

“2d. That the term ‘homœopathy’ does not, in any degree, contain the idea of a system for the selection of medicines; it simply contains the theorem that an existing disease must be cured by the introduction of another disease. The selection of the remedy is a corollary, and comes under another head.

“3d. That any doctrine teaching that diseases and the actions of drugs or poisons are abstract entities or non-entities belongs to the mythology or fairy tales of medical history, far away from the known facts of physiology.

“4th. That the theory contained in the term is not to any appreciable extent entertained at the present day; that it *does misrepresent* the mass of those who allow it to be used to distinguish their belief or practice; and that a proper regard for a correct appreciation of their intelligence by the public, and of honesty in themselves, demands that *the term be put away in the garret as worn-out medical furniture* which has no fitting space in the edifice of real science.”

When I said that the changes which have taken

place in homœopathy consisted in dropping one article of faith after another, I meant to express no reproach. I was simply stating the fact that no two decennia of homœopathy look alike. From one such period to another the homœopathic literature becomes less credulous, less apodictic, more medical. It is true that amongst the first followers of Hahnemann there were men of education and learning. Their position was justified by, and resulted from, the insufficiency of the therapeutics of the time. The incompetency of what claimed to be science in regard to the healing of the sick drove the enthusiasts to join the flag of the rebel. But in and at the same time that legitimate service developed, homœopathy was embraced less by medical men than by the public as a new faith, a promising sect. In Europe but few talented men, and still fewer with a name known outside their city or village, are still upholding the old flag of homœopathy, such as it was, or such as it is said to have become. In our country the case is different. Hardly known by name forty years ago, "homœopathy" has developed into a social power. Its colleges are numerous, its practitioners are counted by the thousands. But the homœopathy introduced into the United States was perhaps never, even at that time, Hahnemannism pure and unadulterated. The men who to-day claim absolute truth and validity for all of the dicta of the new prophet are surely but few. The class of men who nowadays are best known in the ranks of the homœopaths are those who are more distant from Hahnemannism than any of the rest. Their talents and studies have been too many

to be imprisoned within a sect. How many of them would have been glad to renounce their sectarian name, if they had been permitted to do so, cannot be told at present. If there will be no more battle cries of "crucify!" there will be many more men who formerly had to be called homœopaths, and called themselves so by habit and coercion, who will be satisfied with the honorable name of physician.

All of those men who proclaim their independence of Hahnemannian doctrines, and discard even the name of homœopathy, are still classed as homœopathists. By whom? By us. They *have* been so; they may have been. They claim they are *no longer*. We claim they are. What a ridiculous position for us, not for them! All *they* want is to be let alone in their progress toward medical science; *we* tell them they are outside and there is no redemption for them. It is we who insist upon the persistence of their sectarian orthodoxy and who are doing the same we see the public doing constantly. For it is the public which is more homœopathic than their "homœopathic" doctors. The actual fact is this: that these men discard their sectarian title. The Homœopathic Medical Society of Northern New York dropped its homœopathic denomination years ago. Members of homœopathic associations leave them and seek admission into medical societies. The Homœopathic Medical Society of Massachusetts "demands absolute liberty in service, and requires of its applicants for membership no creed or confession of belief." The New York *Medical Times* of February,

1882, proclaims : " We are no more homœopathists and nothing more, than our opponents are allopaths and nothing more," and probably there are in New York City not twenty signs with " homœopathic physician " inscribed on them to-day, compared with the two hundred encountered twenty years ago.

But we are told there are still homœopathists of the genuine Hahnemannian type, and that we must have laws to brand them as such. We are also told that there are doctors who, while not practising homœopathy, still call themselves by that five-syllabled name * only because the public has faith in " homœopathy " and wants to be treated infinitesimally and similia similibusly, and that they are frauds and must be put down. If all that be true you have, or may have, these classes of homœopathic doctors : First, the Hahnemannians,

* It is unfortunate that such men should have a reason to claim for their way of " doing business " such high authority as that of Walter Y. Cowe, M.D., who closes a paper read before the Homœopathic Medical Society of New York County, March 14th, 1883, with the following remarks : " We cannot interdict nor hinder any man, in any case, from employing any agent whose use—even if it be allopathic and routine—is to him individually less difficult of prescription, and to his mind more sure, safe, and quick, than any homœopathic prescription he then and there could make. But now, shall we deny to this man the name of homœopathist ? If he believe in the homœopathic law, I do not believe we can. However often he lapse from making a homœopathic prescription, so he believe the law, and, like every one *believing*, make his honest endeavor, comparatively feeble though it may be, he is a homœopathist, and this name he may bear until the vast bulk of his profession have come to his belief."

a small number, honest in their idiocy ; if you wish to treat them courteously, call them fossils. Second, frauds—those who practise on the ignorance and fanaticism of the spinster persuasion.* Third, doctors who have been educated as Hahne-mannians and have worked themselves out of their doctrines by study and intelligence ; and those who have been or are the pupils of the latter. Certainly we do not mean to ostracize them, for the greatest joy should be ever over the sinners who return. And the other classes—the fossils and frauds ?

We have raised them into the dignified place of real adversaries, from whom we deem proper to protect ourselves as if they were our equals. We have thrown up barriers between them and us, and thus given them a standing. We have insisted upon their being unscientific when experimental science was in its infancy and we had very little to boast of ourselves. We have complained they made a trade of the profession, and, by repeating this reproach again and again, we have made their trade successful. We have enlisted the sympathy of the press and public in their favor, and improved their chances of recognition by proclaiming loudly

* “ Why homœopathy should have so much popular currency in this country as compared with the lands of its birth, or with Great Britain, is a curious question. It has been attributed to the state of medical education, but it might be found, I suspect, to be in intimate relations with another very interesting matter too delicate for me to meddle with here—namely, the potential influence in our community of the imaginative sex, and its psycho-biological leaders and followers.”—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES in Boston Medical Journal.

our objections to it. Thus we have both injured the professional dignity and influence and harmed the public. For it is our fault if a large part of the public went astray. Knowledge of medical matters it has none, cannot have it in the present condition of school instruction and general education. Laymen judge of medical matters with the intellectual means at their disposal—that is, business experience and “common sense,” which, when not matured by knowledge, is generally uncommon nonsense.

In order to destroy homœopathy and spoil the public's taste for it, we have commenced at the wrong end. Instead of improving ourselves we have excommunicated those who threw systematic medicine overboard ; and nowadays, when we meet men who in a genial and gentlemanly manner proclaim their readiness to join us, we refuse to let them do it in their own way, and insist upon their professing loudly that they have always walked in darkness and lived in perversity. We have looked in the wrong direction for improvement. We have been taught to point our Pharisee's finger at the men who, by malice, ignorance, or whim, wanted to stay behind or outside, instead of letting them severely alone and giving them time to return to their senses, and instead of minding our own affairs. Meanwhile, we in America have but little improved the methods of educating young men for the profession. Unless the standard of the general practitioner is high, neither the educated nor the uneducated classes of society will know how to distinguish him from his quack neighbor. It is not

a few prominent men that are known over the States and the world, who give a status to the profession, but the thousands of general practitioners who mingle with the masses in city and country. Meanwhile, we have to admit the remarkable fact that men connected with medical schools emphatically denying the necessity of a preliminary general education, and promising the shortest possible courses of instruction before awarding diplomas, are among the main posers in behalf of the "Code of Ethics."

And what about consultations? Nobody compels you. You cannot or do not care to consult with a fossil; you do not wish to consult with a fraud, no matter on what side of the fence you find him. In fact, nobody compels you to consult with the frauds amongst the so-called regulars, who bow to the old family nurse's teething diagnosis in a case of meningitis or pneumonia, or who sustain the fashionable "malaria" diagnosis of high and low, rich and poor, and the still more fashionable "sewer-gas" etiology, in all cases of diagnosticable, but perhaps not diagnosticated, cases. And why? Because it is the diagnosis and the etiology of their—what do they call them?—"patrons." You need not consult even with *them*, but you *may*, and generally you *will*. For it is considered quite legitimate to consult with all of them, even with those professedly ignorant. And still therapeutics has risen (as H. C. Wood so aptly expresses it) "from the position of an empirical art to the dignity of applied science" in our times. For the past we are not responsible, and rejoice in the fact of being able to

resort to the results of experimental therapeutics in the treatment of the sick, willing to admit that the individual may be ignorant ; not ready, however, to join with A. T. Speer, of Ohio, who even, in a presidential address delivered but lately, claims to be “almost as ignorant of the action of medicine upon disease as we were one hundred years ago.”

We are told we must continue to fight windmills. There is no adversary left, but we are told to fight on. By fighting where there were no enemies we succeeded in making them. We are also told that laws of forty years ago are to be our laws, because our dead fathers—some of whom are, however, still living—thought them good at that period.

We, the citizens of the State and country, send our delegates to Albany and Washington every year for the express purpose of giving new laws and mending and abolishing old ones, and when, by some ludicrous mistake, an old penal code was lately fastened upon the land, ridicule and disgust rendered it ineffectual within a single fortnight. But the physicians of city and county are advised that changed times and circumstances do not change the necessities of the professional man. He is expected to live in the code and coat fashionable and proper when he was born.

RESOLUTION IN FAVOR OF LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

Whereas, A bill has been introduced in the House of Representatives providing for the erection of a building to contain the records of the library and museum of the Medical Department, United States Army, as follows :

“Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that a brick and metal fire-proof building, to be used for the safe-keeping of the records, library, and museum of the Surgeon-General’s Office of the United States Army, is hereby authorized to be constructed upon the Government reservation in the city of Washington, in the vicinity of the National Museum and the Smithsonian Institution, on a site to be selected by a commission composed of the architect of the Capitol, the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and the officers in charge of the State, War, and Navy Department building, and in accordance with plans and specifications submitted by the Surgeon-General of the Army, and approved by said commission, the cost of the building, when completed, not to exceed the sum of two hundred thousand dollars ; the building to be erected and the money expended under the direction and superintendence of the officer in charge of the State, War, and Navy Department building.” Be it

Resolved, That the Medical Society of the State of New York indorses the efforts made for the purpose of preserving the records, library, and museum of the Surgeon-General's Office of the United States Army, for the following reasons :

The library and museum owe their existence to the exercise of untiring energy and a large expenditure of money. Both contain a great number of objects which, should they be destroyed by fire, could not be replaced at all. They are an embodiment of an important part of the history of the United States, inasmuch as they owe their origin to the physical and intellectual powers developed and exercised in times of great necessity and peril, and they are also the proof of American love of useful scientific work. The museum possesses unique specimens, the loss of which would be irreparable. The library is by far the most complete and useful collection of medical journals in the world. Both of them, and the publications emanating from them, are admired and applauded wherever scientific work and investigation are appreciated. Both of them are the pride of the American medical profession, and have constantly proved instruments for scientific progress. To allow them to be constantly exposed to be destroyed by fire is a suicidal policy on the part of a commonwealth whose aim and effort it has always been to rank as the equal of any nation fond of science and proud of intellectual evolution. Be it further

Resolved, That while the preservation of the existing treasures is proclaimed an absolute necessity, the increase of medical literature, based upon the

constant mental, clinical, and experimental labors of thousands of industrious men, is such that the library of the Surgeon-General's Office cannot do without constant additional purchases. That library, in order to maintain its high position amongst the collections of the world and to fulfil its mission entered upon not twenty years ago, must be supplied with every medical book and journal written in any language and printed in any land. Be it further

Resolved, That the impetus given to literary work in the United States, and the great facilities afforded and promised to medical literature, by the publication of the subject catalogue of the library of the Surgeon-General's Office—of which four volumes have thus far been published—require that this great American work should be completed in the shortest possible time. Be it further

Resolved, That the Medical Society of the State of New York petition Congress not only to pass the bill providing for the erection of a building to contain the records, library, and museum of the Medical Department, United States Army, but also to grant the appropriations necessary for the two objects specified—viz., first, the purchase of every medical publication that shall appear in the future; and, second, the speedy publication of the remaining volumes of the subject catalogue of the medical library of the Surgeon-General's Office.

Resolved, That the individual members of the Medical Society of the State of New York consider it their duty to convince the people at large, and particularly the individual members of Congress, of

the importance of the appropriations asked for, of their usefulness and indispensability, of their smallness compared with their effect, of their urgent necessity in the interest of medical science, of the intimate connection of the progress of medical science with the welfare and happiness of the people, and of the hitherto diminutive proportions of the appropriations, by Congress, for intellectual improvement, compared with the vast amounts of money annually expended on wars, past and present, on harbors and other internal improvements, and the administration of the political government.

VALEDICTORY REMARKS

UPON RETIRING FROM THE HONORARY PRESIDENCY OF
THE SECTION OF DISEASES OF CHILDREN OF
THE TENTH INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL
CONGRESS, AT COPENHAGEN, 1884.

Gentlemen :

Though the second to speak to you before leaving this place, and obliged to repeat, though less charmingly, much of what Prof. Rauchfuss has said, I am none the less anxious to express my gratitude to your president, Prof. Hirschsprung, and to you who have honored me with the most marked proofs of your hospitality. Being permitted to preside over some of your meetings, I have been in closer contact with you and your exertions than it would have been my good fortune if I had been a member of the audience only. The interest I take both in the subjects discussed here and in pædiatrics generally makes me the more cognizant of your kindness and the more grateful for it.

The number of subjects discussed here has been large. They were various in nature, but equally interesting. I feel sure nobody will look back upon our meetings except with the feeling that he has not only been entertained, but that he takes away with himself a number of useful and fertile impressions. Not a few of our topics have a general bearing on common human interests, and even on social

questions. Thus we have to a high degree, as much as it was possible in a few brief meetings, accomplished much from the points of both the medical man and the citizen. This is the position which the physician is called upon to fill, now and forever. Medical conscience begins to be aware of this more and more. The public has long ago recognized and appreciated it. If you desire a proof, it may be found in the splendid hospitality of the municipality of Copenhagen, the generous reception by the king, the enthusiastic and at the same time kind attentions on the part of the whole public, which have warmed the heart of everybody amongst us. They will be a reminder to all of us of our obligations both to science and mankind. And while we know that we do not stand on an isolated pedestal as medical men in contradistinction from society, this fact reminds us also of the necessity of not forgetting that we do not stand isolated and in contradistinction, far away from general medicine, when we gather for special studies in the pædiatric section. Into the question of specialties, however, I shall not enter this moment. Though I claim to take a special interest in pædiatrics, I have taken pains never to cease nursing my ambition of being a general practitioner. As such I shall never cease, I hope, to love children, to study their nature, their physiology and pathology, and to join you in every effort of yours in fostering pædiatric science. Thus, while I bid you adieu, with the expression of both my satisfaction at having been here and of my regret at parting, I look forward with great gratification to our next meeting, in Washington, and my own home. Valete.

